

ely Articles by W. Averell Harriman, James A. Brownlow, J. Albert Woll, Peter Henle and Others

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# The American FEDERATIONIST

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JANUARY, 1953

GEORGE MEANY, Editor

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## Problems

In many countries today the economic situation is dominated by the fact that they are trying to do more than their resources will permit. Rearmament, economic development and the maintenance and raising of living standards are competing for scarce supplies of labor, materials and equipment. The result, too often, is harmful price rises and a tendency for these different objectives to get in each other's way.

The situation is further complicated by the occurrence of a fairly widespread recession in consumers' demand—a recession attributable chiefly to the high level of prices, to the international repercussions of balance-of-payments difficulties and to the deliberate adoption of anti-inflationary measures.

Thus, substantial unemployment or short-time working has developed in consumer goods industries, while an acute shortage of labor persists in heavy industries.

In other countries chronic problems of general unemployment and underemployment persist. Energetic measures are required to meet these difficulties.

First, countries should insure that all their resources are fully employed, in particular by promoting the mobility of labor, by pressing on with economic development and by maintaining adequate levels of effective demand.

Where a country is unable by its own efforts to achieve full employment, other countries should seek ways to help to bring its unemployed resources into production.

David A. Morse.

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President George Meany (at right) and Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler confer at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor in the nation's capital. They will be working together during the year which has just begun for the protection and advancement of working people.



# THE NEW YEAR

By **GEORGE MEANY**

*President, American Federation of Labor*

**L**ABOR faces the New Year with a keen sense of its broadened responsibilities. To meet the challenges that confront us in the world today, we must think and act in terms of tomorrow, not of yesterday. Above all, as good trade unionists and as good citizens, we must make our maximum contribution to the attainment of world peace, to the security of our nation and to the preservation of the free way of life. If we lose these, we lose everything.

Therefore, our first duty is to support the government in its efforts to end the stalemate in Korea and to prevent any future Koreas.

As workers we can do our part by expediting the national defense production program. As trade unionists, we are determined to keep democracy alive in the free world by helping and encouraging the free trade union movements of other nations. As citizens, we have the opportunity of promoting national unity by cooperating with other groups in our home communities to strengthen and improve the American way of life.

In the year ahead the American Federation of Labor hopes and expects to work with the new Administration in the furtherance of constructive national and international policies. We have confidence in the sincerity of President-elect Eisenhower's pledge to be fair and just to the nation's workers.

The Democratic Party may decide to assume the role of "loyal opposition." It should be remembered, however, that the American Federation of Labor is not, and never has been, a part of any political party. We engaged in the last campaign on a non-partisan basis. Now there is

other work to be done. We intend to do our job not as opponents of the Administration but as good citizens determined to cooperate with it insofar as we are given the opportunity to do so.

That goes for the American Federation of Labor's relations with the new Congress, too. A great deal of legislation of vital importance to the nation's workers will be acted upon by the Eighty-third Congress. The economic stabilization program must be extended as long as the danger of inflation persists. Our foreign aid program must be continued. Major changes in the Taft-Hartley Act will be up for consideration. The tax laws are going to be overhauled.

In all of these major problems, it is more important to protect the interests of America's working men and women than to perpetuate yesterday's feuds.

For that basic reason the American Federation of Labor intends to work with members of Congress from both political parties to promote the enactment of equitable and workable legislation.

Looking ahead, we must think in terms of protecting our national economy against the day when the defense program is completed and industrial activity may suffer a temporary curtailment. Action must be planned now to prevent a major depression, with mass unemployment, at some future date. To this end, we are going to press for a combined effort by business, labor and the government to draw up programs that will assure high-level production and full employment even when the defense emergency ends.

Within labor's own ranks, I am confident that

a sincere attempt will be made in the immediate future to bring about much-needed unity. Negotiations looking toward a merger of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. will be resumed by committees representing both groups.

In my opinion, nothing could strengthen labor's position in our country and in the free world to a greater extent than such a merger. The American Federation of Labor will do its utmost to make labor unity a reality in the coming year.

The outlook for 1953 is beset with many dangers. We are still in the woods looking for a way out toward peace, security and lasting prosperity. But as long as we keep looking and keep trying and keep the faith, there is reason for hope.

In that spirit, I extend to the eight million members of the American Federation of Labor and to men and women of goodwill everywhere best wishes for a happy, peaceful and productive New Year.

# ACCENT on MANPOWER

By PETER HENLE

*Executive Assistant to the Labor Members,  
National Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee*

**M**ANPOWER is the one basic factor in which the Soviet Union holds a distinct advantage over the United States.

This is brought out by the table which appears on the next page showing the relative ability of the United States and the Soviet Union to wage total war.

Even a brief glance at the table points up this striking fact: while the United States can far outstrip the Russian war machine in production, the Soviets have by far the advantage in numbers of people. While the United States is vastly superior in its ability to mine coal, generate power and produce oil, the Soviet Union has the greater population with which to wage war.

This comparison underscores the critical importance to the United States of manpower and manpower policies. In any future emergency, manpower, rather than raw materials, productive capacity or machine tools,

is likely to be the factor most seriously limiting our ability to wage war.

In fact, this manpower comparison looms so important to one expert on Russian manpower\* that he remarks:

"It is wise to remember that the latter part of the 1950s may offer a time of great danger of Russian aggression—possibly the time of greatest danger. The supply of men in the prime military ages in the Soviet Union will then begin to approach its peak. \* \* \* [while] in the same period the Western armies will inherit the meager cohorts of the depression years."

Although the factor of manpower is critical, these figures do not tell the whole story. Manpower is more than a matter of mere statistics.

There is a world of difference between a nation with a 60,000,000 work force, a large part of which is

untrained, unskilled, unemployed and deprived of freedom, and a nation with the same size work force in a highly productive economy whose members are free, fully employed, highly skilled and adequately trained for full mobilization. Even though the population of the United States is considerably less than the Soviet Union's, the military effort which the more highly advanced American economy can draw from this limited population may well equal or surpass that of the Soviets.

At the present time it is clear that the United States possesses a more highly skilled and versatile work force than the Soviet Union does. It is equally clear, however, that as the Soviets develop a more productive economy, this advantage is likely to diminish.

Although the entire country hopes and works for peace, the United States knows that it must prepare for any emergency. The pattern of ag-

\* Eugene M. Kulischer, "Russian Manpower," *Foreign Affairs*, October, 1952.

gression set by the Soviet Union has left no alternative.

It is impossible to escape the conclusion that the menace of Soviet aggression requires from this country a greater awareness of manpower and more attention to manpower problems than have previously prevailed. This must involve an analysis of our present manpower resources, to be followed by joint action by labor, management and government to improve the nation's use of manpower for the immediate future and for possible full mobilization.

This is not an easy task. "Manpower" is a particularly elusive concept because it is involved in such a wide range of everyday decisions and problems.

When we talk about ways to improve the country's use of its manpower, we are talking about influencing a whole complex of decisions, both private and public, that determine not only whether individuals are at work but the kinds and types of jobs they have and the skills which they have acquired.

For example, the following types of decisions all help determine whether the United States is effectively utilizing its manpower: (1) the decisions of individuals to work, look for a new job, go to school or stay home; (2) the decisions of business to build new plants, to introduce new machines, to expand or cut back production; (3) the decisions of unions to help establish apprentice programs and standards and to work for improved wages and working conditions, and (4) the decisions of government regarding the size of the armed forces, the methods of recruiting individuals for military service and the operation of an employment service.

EACH of these decisions affects the use of manpower, yet in hardly any of these are manpower considerations a determining factor. For example, let us examine the process of locating a new plant by a company that wants to expand its operations.

This has generally been considered a question for the company's production authorities. Decisions of business officials about the location of new plants have been made almost exclusively with reference to such factors as access to raw materials and markets, availability of transportation facilities and relation to other company

United States and the Soviet Union			
Relative Ability to Wage Total War			
Item	Unit of Measurement	U.S. Actual	U.S.S.R. Calculated
<b>Production (1951 Figures)</b>			
Steel	Millions of Metric Tons	95.3	31.4
Coal	"	485.3	281.5
Petroleum	"	312.1	42.3
Cement	"	42.0	12.4
Electric Power	Millions of Kilowatt Hrs.	432,319	102,700
<b>Manpower (1950 Figures)</b>			
Total Population	Millions	152	200
Population, 18-45 Years	"	63	85
Male Population, 18-25	"	9	16
Sources: Production figures—U.S. Department of Commerce; manpower figures—Eugene M. Kulischer, Library of Congress.			

plants. There has been very little concern with the availability of manpower.

Too often management officials have been operating on the theory that manpower would be available to fill jobs in new plants regardless of their location. As a result, plants have often been placed in areas of tight labor markets where job openings could not be easily filled and where housing and community facilities were already strained. Meanwhile, other areas have long relief and unemployment rolls of men eager for jobs in these new plants.

This is the type of question which must be given more emphasis as a manpower problem. As new plants are constructed, they should be placed in areas where sufficient manpower is available to staff them in the event of war. Business must be persuaded to consider manpower as a factor in plant location of equal importance with raw materials, markets or transportation facilities.

Unless this is done, an emergency period will find us once again with excessively crowded work centers, with its resulting effects in wasteful turnover, poor morale and inadequate housing.

Plant location policy is but one aspect of "manpower" policy. Some of the more important problem areas of "manpower" policy can be listed

as follows, together with a few questions each suggests:

(1) *Developing the most effective balance between military and civilian manpower.* What is the optimum division of manpower between those who fight and those who support the man at the front? What policies should govern the selection of men for the armed forces?

(2) *Assuring a sufficient supply of workers with needed skills.* What types of skills are in short supply? How can additional workers be trained? What special measures are needed for engineers, scientists and other specialized skills?

(3) *Obtaining proper distribution of manpower.* What steps can be taken to encourage better location of plant facilities from the standpoint of manpower? Under what circumstances, if any, does the government need to intervene to assure that critically needed facilities are fully manned?

(4) *Making full use of available manpower.* In what way can the discrimination against employment of minority groups be eliminated? How can employers be persuaded to employ older workers, the handicapped and other marginal groups?

(5) *Expanding the labor force.* Under what conditions should housewives and others not currently employed be (Continued on Page 29)

# LABOR VIEWS

## of the New Chief Executive

On the 20th of this month, General Dwight D. Eisenhower will be inaugurated as the President of the United States. Working people are keenly interested in the new President's attitude toward labor. His most comprehensive expression on where he stands was contained in his address to the American Federation of Labor convention last September. With the Eisenhower administration about to begin, we feel that it is timely to print the full text of his A. F. of L. speech.

**P**RESIDENT GREEN, ladies and gentlemen of the American Federation of Labor:

The invitation to address your convention gives me the first opportunity to do something I have long wanted to do. That is to stand before the American Federation of Labor and say to you directly that the free world will be forever in your debt for your help in winning the war.

When I addressed messages to labor unions during the war, I was very conscious that I wore the uniform of my country. So I stressed but two facts. The first was that we were at war, engaged in a desperate conflict in defense of freedom. The second fact was that the men lying in the foxholes, fighting on the sea, fighting in the air—your own sons, dear ones and comrades—needed the arms, the production which the working men and women of America alone could provide.

Into those messages I put all the fervor of a man who writes what is close to his heart. But the response was more—far more—than ever could be stirred by one man's appeal. Let me say now, plainly and clearly, the contribution that free American labor made to the winning of the war was beyond all calculation.

This you have proved for all time—free labor can outwork, outproduce, outearn and outdo slave labor,

whether that slave labor be located in a Nazi Germany or a Communist Russia.

Today our task is less dramatic but not any less demanding or important. It is to make secure the peace which cost us so dear. Again labor, together with every other group in America, must play its part in making the free world so strong of heart and sinew that aggression becomes unthinkable.

Your responsibility in that great task is somewhat different than it was while we were at war. So is mine. My role is a brand-new one for me. And I know you will believe this: I would never have taken it on unless I was convinced of one thing—that it was my job to do in the service of America.

Because I come before you today as a civilian, a candidate for the highest office in the land, does not mean that I have anything more to ask of you than if I had appeared here in uniform. Certainly you know me well enough to know I have not come to curry any special favor. I have not come to bid or compete for your endorsement. My views towards labor will be the same as they long have been, regardless of the action taken by the American Federation of Labor at this convention in the matter of endorsing a Presidential candidate. My guide in this vital matter, as in others,

will always remain the same: what is good for America—all America.

Now, my role may have changed, but I have not changed. All of my life I have said what I meant and meant what I said. No one will change that. All of my life I have had a deep and fundamental faith in my country, in its people, in its principles and in its spiritual values. No one will change that.

In this new role of mine I have been talking with my fellow-citizens about the great issues of today and the grave problems we will be called upon to meet in the next four years. Everyone is entitled to know what is in my mind and what is in my heart.

Under the heavy hands of men who regard power as their right and not as their responsibility, this nation has come to take counsel of despair. Political leaders have allowed our nation to fall into a war with no plans for its winning. Political leaders have allowed our abhorrence for communism to divide us, not unite us, as it could. And instead of solving domestic problems, political leaders exploit them for narrow partisan ends.

I know that millions of members of the A. F. of L. are as fed up with this Washington mess as I am, and I know that many of them are going to join me in helping to clean it up.

The blunt truth is that American labor has been smarter and quicker



in meeting these problems than has the administration. For example, I never heard you call the problem of a Communist agent in a high policy-making position "a red herring." On the contrary, you have shown what an understanding of communism and a determination to oppose it can do to keep organizations free of Communist influence. You have not provided a happy home in which Communists could thrive and advance themselves. Our truly American labor unions have helped greatly in stiffening the American worker's resistance to communism.

What you want me to discuss, I know, are my views on labor problems. Therefore, at the outset, let me say that I feel strongly that there should be in Washington a government which can command the trust of both labor and employers. We do not have such a government now. To get a government that can be trusted by both sides requires not more law but more leadership.

Perhaps in these days of political claims and counter-claims it is not amiss to recall that it was my party which established in law the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively. That was first written into statute in the Railway Labor Act of 1926. It was considered a model law until later administrations began playing politics with it.

The Norris-LaGuardia Act was also passed under my party administration. Both these laws established a basis of legal rights for workers and their unions. On this foundation further legal enactments were built. They helped the American labor movement to grow.

I know well what the growth of the American labor movement has meant in concrete gains.

When I went into the Army forty-one years ago I was working in a creamery and refrigeration plant in Kansas. It was a pretty good job for those days. I worked eighty-four hours a week on the night shift, from 6 to 6, seven nights a week. But in the years since unions, cooperating

with employers, have vastly improved the lot of working men and women.

Today in America unions have a secure place in our industrial life. Only a handful of unreconstructed reactionaries harbor the ugly thought of breaking unions and of depriving working men or working women of the right to join the union of their choice.

I have no use for those—regardless of their political party—who hold



PRESIDENT-ELECT EISENHOWER

some vain and foolish dream of spinning the clock back to days when unorganized labor was a huddled, almost helpless mass. But it is not only the employer who can exploit workers. Can labor have forgotten the extraordinary proposal of the present administration for dealing with a threatened railroad strike? It was the demand from the head of the Democratic Party that the strikers be drafted into the Army.

As Chief of Staff, I found myself involved in that affair. That was in the spring of 1946. I had just returned from a tour of inspection in the Pacific. I was trying to get some rest down in Georgia. I got a telephone call from Washington. The message directed that I return to Washington immediately to assume

command of the railway strikers, who were going to be drafted into the Army. With a bitter protest, I refused. I was told that I was considered the only soldier with whom the railway workers would even talk. So I agreed to meet with them. But I was a soldier, not a strikebreaker.

So far as I am aware, my opponent in this election did not object to the draft of strikers into the Army. His running-mate voted for it. The members of the Republican Party in the Senate finally defeated the proposal.

I don't want arbitrary power over either labor or industry. I do not believe that the President of a free nation can have such power without that nation losing its freedom.

My opponent made plain on Labor Day that he wanted power, as President, to compel arbitration. That is exactly what I am against.

If you want the basic, irreconcilable difference between his position and mine, there it is. He and his party embrace compulsion. I reject compulsion.

Let us face up frankly to this problem of strikes. The right of men to leave their jobs is a test of freedom. Hitler suppressed strikes. Stalin suppresses strikes. The drafting of strikers into the Army would suppress strikes. But each also suppresses freedom. There are some things worse, much worse, than strikes. One of them is the loss of freedom.

The time has come to tell our people the truth. Today, on Constitution Day, which commemorates the adoption of our founding document, this truth has special point. Most strikes can be avoided without violating the Constitution either by the illegal seizure of property or by putting strikers into the Army. A great deal can be done which is not now being done to get labor disputes settled without recourse to strikes.

Certainly there is enough responsible leadership in industry and in the union movement on which to build a firm foundation for labor peace. It is time we got some responsible



*This was the setting as General Eisenhower addressed the A. F. of L.'s convention last September*

leadership in government so that we can get on with that job.

As just one example of where that job could begin, consider how woefully inefficient is our Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. It stands aside, in deference to political maneuvering, until disputes have reached the boiling point.

Federal mediation has fallen into such disrepute in America that our people may have forgotten what mediation can do. Serious, dedicated mediation has found solutions to conflicting national interests; it has ended wars. Remember what Ralph Bunche did in mediating between the Arabs and the Jews. Surely no labor problem is as complex, as emotion-filled, as bitterly contested, as the problem he helped solve in bringing into being the new State of Israel. That is what mediation can do. Let us not lose that vision.

Surely we can apply such genuine effort and calm fair-mindedness to labor disputes. We can if we have men in government who are themselves calm and fair-minded.

Preventive medicine has worked wonders in preserving health. Preventive mediation could often anticipate the fever spots in our economy.

For those few disputes which are of national importance and which will

survive intensive efforts at mediation—and of these there will be some—I stand with a great labor statesman. He was for voluntarism and against compulsion. I quote his words:

"The workers of America adhere to voluntary institutions in preference to compulsory systems which are held to be not only impractical but a menace to their rights, welfare and liberty."

Those were the words of the founder and far-sighted leader of the American Federation of Labor, Sam Gompers.

Certainly for this audience I do not have to spell out the fact that there is no quick cure for every labor dispute. Nor is the dispensation of favors from high places the easy road to winning strikes once they have begun—as the steel workers recently learned.

Injunctions, seizures and other such devices will not settle the underlying fundamental problems which cause a strike. Where does the heavy hand of government intervention push us? It pushes us into the waiting rooms of government officials far removed from the issue. You can guarantee that men so remote from the problem will know practically nothing about it.

Anyone who says he is against in-

junctions and for seizure as a remedy in national emergencies is talking out of both sides of his mouth. Seizure carries with it the power of injunction in emphatic form. The moment the government seizes the mines or the railroads the courts will grant an injunction against any strike because the strikers have, without their consent, become government employees.

After the railroads were seized, the government obtained one injunction after another against the railroad workers. Railroad workers will tell you, as they have told me, that seizure can be a calamity for employees. The type of injunction authorized by seizure is completely unlimited both in time and in scope.

If, in a national emergency declared by Congress, the government does move into a strike situation to secure a resumption of operations, it must at the same time stimulate, not stifle, collective bargaining. There is no other way to attack the dispute which underlies the strike.

Again I say peace—either on the labor front or on the international front—cannot be legislated. It can be secured only when there is mutual respect, a will for peace and responsible, humane leadership.

An industrial society dedicated to the largest possible measure of eco-

conomic freedom must keep firm faith in collective bargaining. That process is the best method we have for changing and improving labor conditions and thus helping to raise the American standard of living.

Healthy collective bargaining requires responsible unions and responsible employers. Weak unions cannot be responsible. That alone is sufficient reason for having strong unions.

The contest between labor and industry cannot be abolished without abolishing economic freedom. The role of government is to serve as a referee. It is my hope that we will soon have an administration that will observe the rules of fair play.

Our most miserable failures with collective bargaining in the last fifty years have come when government has abandoned the role of impartial referee and become a participant in the contest.

I SUPPOSE you men have been waiting for me to say something about the Taft-Hartley Act. I will tell you exactly how I feel.

I believe that your own Executive Council has stated that it was prepared to take what it called a "realistic" view of amendments to the law. And that is my position, too. I give it to you simply and clearly. I am in favor not of repealing but of amending that law.

I will not support any amendment which weakens the rights of working men and women. In seeking desirable amendments, I will ask the advice and suggestions of all groups—public, management and labor. And, gentlemen, I assure you that this invitation of mine will be genuine and in good faith. It will not be one of those empty theatrical gestures so often made in recent years. In my own mind I have complete confidence that this job of amending the law can be worked out so that no fair-minded member of your group will consider the results unreasonable. No such legislation must ever be regarded as final, and in considering amendments to labor legislation, one thing I promise—if I have any executive responsibility, labor will have an equal voice with all others.

It is the American way to take what we have and constantly seek to make it better.

Here are some of the principles I think it is important we continue in

law: the encouragement of collective bargaining; the right to strike; an advance notice before a strike is called; a requirement that both unions and employers live up to their contracts; the assurance that members of unions get a regular report on their organization's finances.

I have talked about the Taft-Hartley Act with both labor and industry people. I know how the law might be used to break unions. That must be changed. America wants no law licensing union-busting, and neither do I.

I also think that since patriotic American union leaders must swear that they are not Communists, then the employers with whom they deal should be subject to the same requirement. Ladies and gentlemen, let me explain my view in personal terms. I would not mind every morning swearing an oath of loyalty to the United States of America. I would be proud every night to give my sworn oath that I am not a Communist. But I would resent doing this, and I would resent it bitterly, if I were singled out to do it because I happened to be a veteran, or someone who lived in Kansas, or if I were a labor union official.

I want now to pay tribute to the magnificent work you have done in opposing communism and Communist influences among working people in other countries. Our American labor organizations have been giving aid and support to their brothers who are fighting communism where the fight is toughest. The whole free world is in their debt.

The fundamental problems of my recent tour of duty in Europe involved the combatting of communism. I want publicly to acknowledge the valuable cooperation I got from the American Federation of Labor's representative, Mr. Irving Brown.

He was ably backed up by others, among them Mr. Woll. He is helping over there in the workshops, on the docks, in the mines and in the union halls—in all the places where the battle is the hardest.

We must never forget that American labor has the strength to help its brothers overseas because our economic system here has enabled us to grow strong. The gains that American workers have made, and the gains they will make in the future, would be impossible without the free, ex-

panding, productive system of American industry. He who is bold enough to ask us to take a substitute for our system strikes directly at the interest of labor. He is dangerous whether he presumes to speak in the name of a union, an ideology or a political party.

How well you men of labor must know this to be true! Workers always and everywhere have been the chosen targets of the demagogue. How many twisted and ambitious schemers have dreamed of climbing to power on the backs of the workers of the world! They have had these dreams wherever the backs of men have been bowed by poverty and despair.

It is one of America's real marks of greatness that here a man from the ranks of labor is not set apart. He has no class label. We are not a closed society. We are a society of free men, free citizens. We are all—by hand or brain, with skill and strength—workers.

For this reason I resent those who address special slanted appeals to American labor. You are not to be set apart from the rest of your citizenry by special treatment of any kind—either stern or patronizing. To treat you as a special case is to deny the fullness of your dignity as American citizens.

I do not believe that the American worker will ask anything more than justice and fairness from his government.

MY PLEDGE to you is simply this: to the limit my judgment can discern, you will always get both justice and fairness from me. I repeat my promise of Labor Day. Moreover, take whatever political action your conscience dictates, I will always try to be a true friend of labor.

These simple ideals of justice and fairness for all are the strength of our whole way of life. They can, however, be imperiled by industrial strife. That strife, degenerating into class war, has destroyed freedom in other countries of the world.

To prevent that strife is one of the great challenges and great duties of government. To prevent it, however, means not just to mourn its outbreak but to attack its underlying causes. One menacing cause today is inflation. In the coming weeks, I shall have plenty to say about fighting this



menace. By now I think one fact should be clear to us all: the men who let that threat develop will not drive it away from the homes of the American worker. This ominous menace will not be dispelled by self-satisfied men who view the votes of American workers as safely in their pockets.

Gentlemen, I was humbly born. I believe I know well the elemental needs and rights of all working men and women. I know them too well to try to make political capital out of every man's concern over social security, housing, workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance or

preserving the value of a savings account.

I have said before, ladies and gentlemen, and I say it again, these measures are the floor that we must put under every American citizen to prevent his falling into a pit of disaster that he did not make himself.

It is cheap and demeaning to try to convert these problems into ammunition for partisan spite or partisan gain. They are problems to whose solution must be pledged the intelligence and the integrity of all Americans of good will.

I bring you no prophecy of doom;

neither do I promise Utopia. I do bring you a deep conviction that unlimited opportunities lie ahead for all of us. We are a young people and a young land. The building of America has only begun. We can build an America whose spirit of justice and good will can match our material endowments and the genius of our working men and women.

With God's help, we will do just that.

Ladies and gentlemen, may I thank you once more for the great honor you have done me in inviting me before you. I am grateful.

# SLAVERY UNDER STALIN

## *Proof of Soviet Inhumanity Is Given to U.N.*

**F**ORMER inmates of forced labor and concentration camps, whose testimony before the United Nations Committee on Forced Labor amounted to an accusation that there are 10,000,000 to 15,000,000 prisoners in Joseph Stalin's slave camps, took the witness stand at Geneva, Switzerland, to describe their personal experiences in such camps.

Their evidence was supplemented by the findings of over 200 organizations and individuals who have been investigating forced labor wherever it exists in the world today.

They asserted that, in addition to Communist Russia's millions of slaves, there are now at least 800,000 to 900,000 in forced labor gangs in Stalin's satellite countries.

This was the third session of this three-man committee set up by the United Nations in March, 1951. Ramaswami Mudaliar of India, Paal Berg of Norway and Enrique Carcia-Sayan of Peru, all distinguished jurists and statesmen, are the members of the committee.

Following are summaries of some of the harrowing material put into the record at the Geneva inquiry:

The Society of Former Political Prisoners in the U.S.S.R. submitted depositions on conditions in Soviet labor camps.

Typical was that of Ivan Latai,

born in 1914 in Valki, in the Ukraine. In 1929 his father and two brothers were executed as members of the Ukrainian army that had rebelled ten years earlier. Fifteen-year-old Ivan was sentenced to ten years of correctional labor as a "socially dangerous element."

He was sent to the Mezhdudvorie camp in the Archangelsk region to cut timber which was exported to England for the manufacture of paper. Inmates worked from sunrise to sunset in the clothes they wore when arrested. They became infested with lice and there were no washing or laundry facilities. Latai reported that during two years that he was in this camp, thousands of the slaves died, mostly of typhus.

The production "norms" (quotas) were beyond the physical capacities of most of the prisoners. A prisoner accomplishing the "norm" received, daily 800 grams of bread, one dried fish and 500 grams of poor potatoes, and a weekly packet of tobacco. For less than the "norm," the daily ration was 300 grams of bread and water.

A succession of witnesses who formerly lived in the Baltic countries and in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania testified that forced labor on the Russian Communist model had been introduced in all these countries.

Boleslaw Wierzbianski, chairman of the International Federation of Free Journalists, told the United Nations group that for the first three to five years of Communist rule in the satellite states, forced labor was used to repress political opponents, destroy resistance, demoralize whole populations and perpetuate Communist control. He listed the forced labor laws passed in each enslaved satellite country.

Since the satellite states have been ordered by the Soviet Union to produce about 40 per cent of the whole Soviet bloc output for the years 1954-55, Wierzbianski said, forced labor will become an even more important economic element in the future. He charged that a minimum estimate of slave workers in the satellite states was 800,000 to 900,000—"still low in comparison with the 15,000,000 in Soviet camps."

Georg Ionescu, vice-chairman of the Federation of Free Journalists, submitted an analysis of the construction of the Danube-Black Sea Canal in Rumania. He estimated that 30,000 of the 50,000 who worked on the canal up to last summer were slave laborers.

Mrs. Helen Purre, an exiled Estonian editor, gave a detailed report showing that 12½ per cent of the total labor (Continued on Page 30)



## OUR FOREIGN POLICY IN

# PERSPECTIVE

By W. AVERELL HARRIMAN

**F**UTURE historians may well call the last twenty years of American life the "Learning Period"; for never have we Americans had to learn to deal with so many immense and intricate problems in so brief a time.

We have emerged from the ordeal of a great depression and a global war vastly strengthened. Our democratic system has been invigorated. Our economy has been endowed with a new stability, a new equity and a new energy. Our faith in our ability to meet and surmount whatever perils may confront us, whether at home or abroad, has been both tested and renewed. Above all, perhaps, we have learned that the learning process itself must be continuous.

Today, in facing the most formidable threat we have ever been up against—the Kremlin conspiracy for world conquest—we can take heart from this record of accomplishment which demonstrates the flexibility and vitality of our democratic institutions and the courage and resourcefulness of our people when well served by their leadership.

It is not, I think, too much to say that, under the impact of the crises and strains and challenges of the last twenty years, our nation has arrived at a new maturity.

On the home front we have learned that we need not be at the mercy of economic forces, but rather that we can find ways to guide these forces in order to keep our economy stable, dynamic and expanding. We have learned that wild swings in business activity and employment are neither "natural" nor necessary; that we can sustain a healthy and growing mass-production society only by raising incomes at the base; and that this means not only sound fiscal policies and positive steps to

extend the frontier of economic opportunity and to curtail trends toward monopoly, but also strong trade unions, assured prices and markets for our basic agriculture, minimum wage laws, unemployment compensation and old-age pensions, as well as a whole range of measures to adjust our economy to changing conditions.

In all this we have learned three fundamental lessons:

- That our complex, highly industrialized society demands an effective partnership of government, business, labor and agriculture.

- That individual business planning, which by its nature is piecemeal, must be supplemented by government planning and programs that have a prudent regard for our overall national well-being and future by taking into account

long-range considerations of economic expansion and employment, national defense, population growth, increasing longevity, conservation and use of our resources, health and education, and the like.

- That the purpose of government and the aims of an economy must be to liberate the creative energies and initiative, develop the skills and serve the material needs and moral aspirations of all of our people.

This knowledge, which has become part of our common heritage, owes much to the inspiration of Franklin Roosevelt and his willingness to experiment.

Unfortunately, during the 1930s when we were absorbed in our internal affairs we were not as a nation paying enough attention to what was going on elsewhere in the world. We



*The author (left) has been serving the nation for twenty years. Here he chats with George Harrison, Railway Clerks' president*

refused to heed President Roosevelt's warning in 1937 that "our frontier is on the Rhine" or to listen to such foreign correspondents as Vincent Sheean when he told us that "the Yangtze runs down Main Street."

It took Pearl Harbor, a costly and devastating war and the onslaughts of Communist imperialism to teach many of us what we failed to learn from the First World War. We are as a nation now beginning to understand the full implications of the hard facts:

- That victory on the battlefield does not bring peace.

- That whatever happens in any part of the world—an assassination in Serajevo or the price of tin and rubber in Indonesia, the invasion of Ethiopia or unemployment in the Ruhr, a nationalist uprising in the Middle East or Communist domination of trade unions in Italy—is of vital concern to us.

- That negative, unpredictable and sporadic instruments of foreign policy of the sort that served us before World War II—i.e., breaking diplomatic relations, expressing moral indignation, invoking the Monroe Doctrine, Freedom of the Seas or the Open Door; or outlawing war on paper, as was tried in the Kellogg-Briand Pact—have proved pathetically inadequate to promote and protect the peace.

- That to create and defend the peace requires a vast array of domestic and foreign policies and programs—military and economic, political and psychological—that are positive, predictable and continuously pursued.

- That the only hope of peace lies in the willingness of free nations to work together for it and defend it; and that both the leadership and the heaviest share in this responsibility must be assumed by the United States as, by far, the most powerful of the free nations.

The next few years will show how well we have learned these lessons and whether we as a nation have the intelligence, the stamina and the vision to apply them. I am convinced that we have it within us to cope with the ruthless Soviet challenge to our survival, however long it lasts.

The unprecedented problems which now confront us were foreshadowed in the political and economic chaos in Europe and in Asia resulting from the

war which laid these areas wide open to Communist penetration.

I came home from Moscow gravely concerned over the postwar outlook. We were demobilizing our armed forces at a frightening rate. I found that the impulse to revert to prewar modes of thinking prevailed almost everywhere, and that it was hard for many people to believe that the Soviet Union, so recently our ally, was thinking not of cooperation in peaceful reconstruction but of going it alone and taking advantage of the devastations and dislocations that followed in the wake of our common victory.

THERE were many who saw the developing situation clearly. President Truman, in my first talk with him a few days after he took office, was already seriously concerned, as were the late James Forrestal and others. I found the leaders of the American Federation of Labor far ahead of the rest of public opinion. Drawing on the Federation's long and bitter experience with the Communist mind and its methods, the leaders of the A. F. of L. were among the first men in the whole free world to see the course which events were taking. Even as the war was ending, they were sending men and money abroad to help the free trade unions in their fight against Communist manipulation and domination.

The majority of our people, however, wanted to pick up their private lives as quickly as possible and to forget all about the war and its aftermath. When we consider this natural and very human desire, reinforced as it was by our traditional propensity toward isolation, the speed and realism with which this whole state of mind was reversed can give us confidence for the future.

Soon after the end of the war our people became increasingly apprehensive as the Kremlin more and more openly showed its hand by violating the agreements of Yalta and Potsdam, by unleashing a venomous propaganda attack, first against Britain and then against the United States, and by sabotaging conference after conference designed to fashion the peace.

It has been charged that the American government was slow to move against the Soviet danger. But in retrospect we can see that it was only a matter of months before the first momentous actions were taken. In

March of 1946 we joined the British in insisting that the Soviet Union withdraw its troops from Iran. In March of 1947, when Britain could no longer carry the main burden of supporting Greek independence against Communist-provoked insurrection, President Truman proclaimed that we would take over that responsibility and also come to the assistance of Turkey to enable her to resist Soviet pressures.

I sometimes wonder how many Americans realize the full significance of that decision, world-shaking in its implications. It served notice that the United States was determined not to repeat the mistakes made after the First World War and that we stood ready to throw our tremendous power behind nations prepared to defend their sovereignty. The Truman Doctrine marked the real end of American isolationism.

From here it was a logical step to General Marshall's speech four months later at Harvard offering American economic aid for European recovery. The Marshall Plan saved Western Europe from a Communist take-over and laid the foundations for economic and political stability. Moreover, it encouraged the unification of Western Europe, which is now finding expression in the Schuman Plan, agreements looking to a European Defense Community and preparations now going forward for a European Federation.

And it was only another step to the North Atlantic Treaty, through which we bound ourselves to the principle that an attack on any of our Western European associates was an attack on us.

Within months we had a rearmament program under way in this country, and our allies, too, were beginning to rebuild their forces with some help from us.

When South Korea was invaded we rallied all the free countries of the United Nations and undertook to resist and throw back this armed aggression which revealed, in all of its naked ruthlessness, the lengths to which the Soviet Union was prepared to go in its global plot to enslave mankind. We vastly increased the size and the speed of our own rearmament program for defense. With our NATO allies we embarked upon a collective defense system for Western Europe.

When I look back at all that has happened in seven short, crowded

years and survey all that we have learned and done, it is not our shortcomings or mistakes which stand out, but our accomplishments. As in the days of the New Deal and as in World War II, the American people showed that they will always respond in time and in the right way when authentic leadership is forthcoming. For it should be remembered that the great foreign policy decisions of the post-war years, which may well determine our own fate and that of all mankind, depended in the final analysis on the understanding and bold spirit of President Truman.

I am convinced that the verdict of history will rank him among our greatest Presidents, for he has been the leader in a foreign policy which reflects the new realities of the world we live in and which offers the only hope that a third world war can be averted, that free institutions can be preserved and that a just and durable peace can be built.

I wish I could hold out the promise of early relief from present tensions and trials, but the facts preclude any such prospect. The masters of the Kremlin think not in terms of months or years but in decades and even generations.

Their immediate postwar strategy was to exploit the disruptions and disorders in many section of the globe which, in their view, offered an unprecedented opportunity to subjugate and subvert. Moreover, they expected that American economic collapse and a return to isolationism would assure them a free hand in the rest of the world and quicken the pace of their imperialist expansion.

We can now see the extent to which they miscalculated. Our economy did not collapse. Our people did not return to isolationism. And the counter measures of our positive foreign policies and programs have steadily helped strengthen the free nations and correspondingly reduced the opportunities which the Kremlin could exploit.

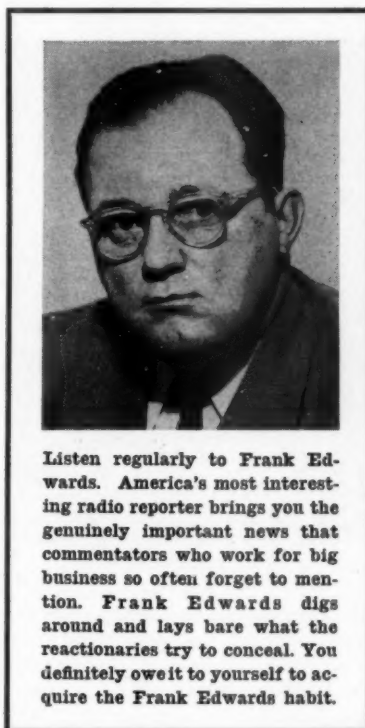
The Soviet aim of world conquest never changes, but its strategy and tactics are extremely flexible. While we may expect the masters of the Kremlin to continue in some situations those flagrant methods of aggression and subversion with which we are now familiar, there are signs of a shift in emphasis.

We must, of course, be ever alert

to the possibility that they may set off a train of events that could precipitate a general war, and we must be ready for any such contingency.

At the same time, because they think in long-range terms, we must also recognize that they are intensifying their efforts to develop and expand their basic materials output and their heavy industries in order to build up their military potential.

We should not regard merely as propaganda the boasts at the Communist Party congress of last October about the startling growth of the U.S.S.R.'s industrial capacity. By depriving their own and satellite peoples



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of consumer goods, by exploiting men and women alike through long hours of work and pittance wages, and by herding millions into slave labor camps, the leaders of the Kremlin are able to concentrate their human and material resources not only to maintain their powerful military establishment but also to enlarge their industrial base as the source of an ever-growing military might.

Our policies in recent years have enormously increased our own productive capacity and helped our European allies to build up theirs.

If we are to counter the long-range military menace implicit in the growth

of Soviet industrial power, we must continue to expand our own heavy industries and to cooperate with other free nations to raise materials output and their industrial strength.

We must realize that we need an expanding free world economy not only to improve living standards and to meet our mutual defense requirements but also to keep the industrial facilities of the free world as they are now—far superior to anything the Soviets may achieve.

But this is not the only long-range consideration that we must take into account in the years ahead. In some countries there are signs of a shift in the Communist "party line" which hold new dangers on the political and psychological fronts.

This change in line is to play down crude Communist dogma and devices and conceal communism in the mantle of nationalism. In Italy and France and elsewhere there is evidence of a return to the technique of the "popular front" in an effort to hide behind facades of respectability and legality and to crawl inside of every movement for social and economic reform.

They are seeking more deviously and insidiously than ever to profit from the peasant's hunger for land, the worker's search for a secure and rewarding job, colonial demands for independence and racial equality, and—above all—from the people's profound desire for peace.

To cope effectively with "popular front" methods in all their variety, the free world must, first of all, understand that today's mass movements of protest are not Communist in origin. Rather they derive from the ideals of freedom, equality and humanity which were sent forth into the world by the British, American and French revolutions, and which have been transmitted over the decades to the Middle East, Africa and Asia by trade and travel, by books and movies, and even by the very presence of our GIs in the far places of the earth.

Unless the free democratic world makes a new and tremendous effort to fulfill the rising expectations of ancient peoples now astir, this end-product of our own American revolution will be captured by the Communists and made to serve their own sinister purposes. This would not be the first time in history when legitimate grievances and constructive strivings (Continued on Page 29)



# APPRENTICESHIP CHALLENGED

By **JAMES A. BROWNLOW**

*President, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.*

**I**N MAY of 1946 the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor viewed with deep concern the trend toward training methods for skilled mechanics which were being advocated by some groups in the nation.

At that time the starting of training schools was particularly attractive because of federal subsidies. Schools professing to be able to train learners to become mechanics in limited periods of time sprang up almost overnight in many sections of the country, to reap a harvest at the expense of the GI and the public. Gradually both the veteran and state and government agencies recognized the menace of these "diploma mills," and many of them ceased operation because of lack of patronage.

There has been a revival of this evil with the enactment of the Korean GI Bill of Rights. In addition to the professed training schools which do not or cannot by their very nature provide a rounded-out system of apprenticeship, other groups are now presuming to determine standards of apprenticeship—standards which are far below those generally recognized as being adequate.

Toward the end of World War II, the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated international and local unions went overboard in an effort to assist veterans to enter bona-fide apprenticeship under the original GI Bill of Rights, Public Law 346. In a widespread move to assist such GIs, unions modified long-standing policies on maximum entrance age and other qualifications.

As a result, thousands of veterans who otherwise would have been de-



**MR. BROWNLOW**

nied good, all-around, union-protected trade training are now full-fledged journeyman mechanics, enjoying all the benefits and privileges of union membership.

Because this training was obtained under basic standards and working conditions recommended by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, Bureau of Apprenticeship, U.S. Department of Labor, these veterans received all-around craft training which guarantees a future livelihood.

The American Federation of Labor, sure that its cooperation under Public Law 346 was appreciated, has prepared to sponsor similar concessions to veterans entitled to benefits under the Korean GI Bill of Rights, Public Law 550.

The A. F. of L. feels that this is a patriotic duty. It cooperated with Congress in drafting the bill and,

though it was not pleased with some of its provisions, encouraged its enactment at the earliest possible moment. The A. F. of L. has called on its affiliated international and local unions to facilitate the entry of eligible veterans into union-sponsored apprenticeship.

But what happens?

The state approving agencies, established by the chief executives of the states under P. L. 550, have created a National Association of State Approval Agencies. This Association held a meeting at Des Moines, Iowa, where it proceeded to formulate so-called "standards" for apprenticeship and on-the-job training which subvert and undermine traditional apprenticeship practices and principles developed jointly by enlightened management and labor over the years and summarized in the national standards of the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship.

The national standards on apprenticeship of the Federal Committee represent not only the best thinking but well-tested practices and procedures of American industry. They are based on studies of apprenticeship experiences and methods in this country and also on studies of apprenticeship practices in other countries.

In order to assist employers and unions to make the fullest use of these carefully developed and tested standards, the U.S. Department of Labor, in cooperation with State Apprenticeship Councils in State Departments of Labor, provides trained field technicians through strategically located apprenticeship field offices. These apprenticeship field technicians are men who (Continued on Page 30)



# How About Some 'Parity' for Farm Laborers?

By LANE KIRKLAND

THE migratory labor program recently announced by the Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee lends further support to the old adage that says "it is an ill wind that blows no good."

Under the pressure of the defense emergency and a growing manpower shortage, past indifference to the lot of the itinerant farm worker has been replaced by a new and grudging concern. It does not come too soon or in too full measure.

The current farm labor recruiting problem is the natural consequence of years of neglect and abuse. No other basic national resource has been more recklessly exploited and dissipated than has the migratory labor force. The only real cause for wonder now is that such a force still exists at a time when better job opportunities for its members abound in other occupations.

The contents of the program spelled out in this policy statement provide a telling indictment of things as they are. The rudimentary nature of the steps proposed to bring about more efficient organization of the job market, for example—so as to provide the "greatest possible continuity of employment" for migratory workers—emphasizes the chaotic condition of that market today. Even when labor is most scarce in many rural areas, chronic extremes of underemployment prevail in others.

A survey made not long ago found that the average migratory worker is employed only 101 days out of the year, seventy days in farm work and thirty-one more in non-farm employment.

The program also points to the present lack of adequate provision for the most basic requirements of human existence—housing, sanitation, medical care, child education—in the rural communities through which these workers move. The migratory worker

has no vote or access to the ear of the "right people," as does his employer. To these communities he is always an outsider, an interloper, with no claim on their facilities.

The manpower policy statement calls for the stricter enforcement of measures designed to protect standards (such as they are) against the uncontrolled influx of foreign workers.

When domestic labor is short, farm operators are prone to use "wetbacks" rather than to "attract domestic workers by the improvement of employment and living conditions," as the program recommends. When domestic labor is plentiful, on the other hand—well, they still use wetbacks.

THE most novel and hopeful feature of this policy document is the fact that representatives of farm employers on the committee are a party to it. So far as the record shows, this is the first formal employer acknowledgment of the fact that conditions are not what they might be and the first important indication of a willingness to go at least a part of the way toward their improvement.

If followed up by performance, this would represent a substantial advance.

But basic long-range problems not covered by this program would still remain. The responsibility for the

solution of those problems rests largely with Congress.

National farm labor policies in the legislative field today are still based essentially upon the old "trickle-down" theory—the idea that if the big farm operator is taken care of through price supports and subsidies, then all will be well with agriculture and the hired farm worker can shift for himself.

This ignores a natural law of labor-management relations, demonstrated and finally learned in other industries a long time ago. In the absence of organizational rights and measures to maintain fair minimum labor standards, the unscrupulous, cutthroat employer will drive decent employers out of the field and cheap, unproductive labor will force good labor from the market.

If the employer abuses were a national disgrace in a New York sweatshop or a Pennsylvania coal mine a generation ago, they are a national disgrace on a California citrus ranch or a Louisiana sugar plantation today.

It is high time that Congress, while expressing its tender concern over parity (equality with city income) for the large farm operator, also took steps to elevate the millions of hired farm workers in America to a position of parity, in legal rights and dignity, with their fellow workers in other trades and industries.

## ATTEND YOUR UNION MEETINGS

BE REGULAR! BE ACTIVE!

# EDITORIALS *by George Meany*

## ***The New Administration***

**T**HIS is going to be a big year for labor, studded with challenge, rich with promise.

A new Administration is taking over in Washington, ending the twenty-year reign of the New Deal and the Fair Deal. There are many who will view the passing of the old regime with sentimental regret, tinged with anxiety. But labor must take a practical stand. We accept the verdict of the voters. We are ready to adjust to changing times and changing conditions. We are determined to carry on our traditional activities for the benefit of the wage-earners of America.

Dwight D. Eisenhower pledged the American people during his campaign that he would be fair and just to labor. He started making good on that pledge even before entering the White House. His appointment of Martin P. Durkin as Secretary of Labor in his Cabinet inspires confidence in the new President's good faith.

The big challenge of 1953, to labor as to all other citizens, is the continuing threat of world war.

We are certain that President Eisenhower will meet that challenge with courage, wisdom and effective leadership. His long and illustrious career makes him ideally fitted to handle this great problem with clear-cut vision and decisive action. He has set himself to end the stalemate in Korea and to make it impossible for Soviet Russia to instigate new aggressions. In those efforts the President of the United States can be assured of the full cooperation of the American Federation of Labor.

In order to build up an effective defense program and to assure a solid foundation for peace, President Eisenhower knows that the nation's economy must be kept strong. It is to be expected, therefore, that he will propose policies aimed at maximum production, full employment and maintenance of high living standards. In such a program, the President also can be assured of

the utmost support from the American Federation of Labor.

So, as we look ahead to 1953 and beyond, we can discern new opportunities as well as broader responsibilities for labor. There is no justification for over-optimism nor for undue pessimism.

As practical trade unionists, true to our principles, we face the future unafraid.

## ***The New Congress***

**W**ITH the new Eighty-third Congress now getting organized under Republican leadership, it is still too early to tell what to look for.

As of now, it appears that Congress will be disposed to collaborate closely with the Eisenhower Administration—at least for the first few months. This is all to the good, so far as the welfare of the nation is concerned. There can be no effective national unity in these critical times unless there is unity of action within the government itself.

Because of its non-partisan political policy, the American Federation of Labor has worked with Republican leaders in Congress in the past and it is in a good position to work with them in the future.

As political realists, many of the Republican members of Congress know that it would be impossible for the party to remain long in power if it pursues a policy of cracking down on labor. Already, there is ample evidence that many in the Republican party would prefer to cooperate with labor. The American Federation of Labor would welcome such cooperation, on an honest and sincere basis.

On the other hand, labor must face the danger of a possible renewal of the reactionary coalition in Congress between the Dixiecrats and the Republican old

guard—the same coalition which for years stymied any progressive legislation even when the Democrats held nominal control.

To overcome this danger and to establish a healthy, cooperative relationship between labor and Congress in the national interest will require constant vigilance, hard work and political sagacity. The well-trained staff of the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor will need all the help it can get from affiliated unions to discharge its duties successfully.

## *The Nation's Health*

THE report of President Truman's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation emphasizes the gross inadequacy of existing health services. The Commission strongly recommends a number of vital steps to improve medical facilities and to provide adequate care for the health of the American people.

So far, so good. The recommendations in this respect completely vindicate the stand taken by the American Federation of Labor in support of programs to assure more doctors, more nurses, more and better hospitals, expanded and improved local health facilities and stronger research support. At the same time, the Commission's unanimous findings cut the ground from under the American Medical Association's stand-pat resistance against federal assistance to medical education and hospital development.

But on one basic point the majority of the Commission failed to come to grips with the facts—that is, the question of how adequate medical care can be brought within the financial reach of the majority of American families.

Obviously and admittedly anxious to avoid a show-down fight with the A.M.A., the Commission majority suggested a so-called "compromise" plan. This plan proposes state-controlled and federally-aided health insurance programs on an entirely voluntary basis of participation by the states and by individuals.

The trouble with this proposal is that inevitably it will leave wide-open gaps in coverage precisely in the areas where the need is greatest.

The American Federation of Labor is even more strongly convinced than before that protection against

the economic hazards of illness can be brought within reach of the average family only by a federal social insurance program with universal coverage.

Such a health insurance system would be compulsory only in the sense that taxes always are compulsory. It would not mean federal regimentation of medicine, since the emphasis would be on community administration. It would not interfere with the freedom of choice of either doctor or patient.

But it would mean a single, simple system of insurance against the high cost of medical care to which every family would contribute through taxes and from which every family could benefit.

This is the goal we seek and will continue to fight for.

## *Controls—A Necessary Evil*

IN NORMAL times government controls over prices and wages would be abhorrent to the free workers of America. But we are still passing through an emergency period. Today inflation is a reality rather than a threat. To abandon economic controls at this time would be risking unnecessary danger.

The American Federation of Labor, in taking this position, is not acting from selfish motives. Organized workers would be able to take care of themselves even if controls were killed simply because they are organized. Those who would suffer most are the unorganized—those living on fixed incomes, pensioners, white-collar workers and, perhaps, government employees.

In fact, there is more than a little self-sacrifice involved in labor's espousal of continued wage controls. In many cases, unions have been able to negotiate larger wage increases than the stabilization policy has allowed.

However, it should be clearly understood by Congress that when it comes to controls half a loaf is not better than none. Ineffective price controls, which permit the cost of living to climb steadily higher, will not be acceptable to labor. Unless Congress is ready to extend the stabilization program on the basis of effective price controls along with equally effective wage controls, it might just as well cancel out the whole program and give the President merely stand-by authority to re-invoke tight controls if the situation gets out of hand.



# JAPAN REVISITED

By RICHARD DEVERALL

*American Federation of Labor Representative in Asia*

TOKYO.

**J**APAN today is a peaceful and independent country surrounded on three sides by Soviet Russian, North Korean and Red Chinese military, air and naval bases.

What a striking contrast today's Japan is to the Japan we first visited after the surrender. For when this writer arrived in Japan in 1945, if the people said anything, they said: "Tojo no good. We hate war. Let us be friends."

With Japan's war potential destroyed, the country marched into a new era of peaceful progress under the new constitution inspired by General Douglas MacArthur, a constitution which included a complete renunciation of the use of force in settling international disputes and denying to Japan the right to raise any military or naval forces.

During the spring of 1946, in the port city of Sasebo, I saw weeping Japanese Navy men enter a fleet of submarines. They decorated their beloved subs with cherry blossoms. Then they pulled the petcocks. One by one, the last of the Japanese Navy went to the bottom of the ocean to slumber forever as a symbol of the determination of the American and Japanese people that there should be no more armed conflict in the East, the hope of the American and Japanese people that the Pacific Ocean would be forevermore pacific.

During 1946 Japan suffered an acute food shortage. The Americans rushed in with extra supplies. And slowly the Japanese people emerged from the horror of the war.

It is perhaps forgotten today, but in 1945 the American in Japan was greeted as a liberator. For the Japanese people so hated the imperial Japanese police, the senseless Army, the brutality of the bureaucracy and the thought police that the advancing American forces indeed represented liberation to the man in the street.

All repressive and fascist legislation was ordered repealed by the Allied occupation. And slowly Japan began to march from Tojo's enforced austerity and the destruction of property to an expanding prosperity and reconstruction of the homes and the industrial plant of Japan.

In September of 1947, however, the crafty Stalin, who had ordered the Comintern dissolved during the war to deceive his Western allies, ordered the formation of the Cominform. The meeting of top Communist Party leaders at which the Cominform was established symbolized the resumption of guerilla warfare by the Kremlin against the free world.

**S**TALIN had expected that communism would quickly move into the countries weakened by the war. He had expected easy, cheap and quick victories in Germany and Japan, in Italy and Indo-China. But by the end of 1947 it was obvious that free people and nationalist movements were resisting "Soviet liberation." Therefore Stalin in January of 1948 ordered transition of Communist Party policy in Asia from "united frontism" to one of guerilla war.

At that time the essential services of Japan were under the control of the Communist-organized trade union center, the Sanbetsu. By March of 1948 the Communist-dominated unions of Japan were exploiting the real grievances of the workers to advance a slowly developing guerilla struggle against the government of Japan and the Allied occupation.

The situation became so serious that General MacArthur took drastic action during July of 1948 and crushed the growing paralysis of Japan's railways and communication network by summarily removing from the left-wing unions their right to strike.

MacArthur's action did not solve

the problem. It partially crippled the Communist-dominated unions without solving the problem of Communist infiltration.

Meanwhile, as the Communist machine inside Japan was set back by MacArthur, Soviet Russia frantically built new bases in Sakhalin, the Kuriles and other areas, such as Dairen and Port Arthur, which had been Japanese territory but which, at Yalta, were handed over to the Soviets. Islands within a few miles of Japan's northernmost island, Hokkaido, were heavily fortified with cannon, troops, naval bases and anti-aircraft batteries.

The long, thin island of Sakhalin, the southern part of which was formerly Japanese, was turned into a vast military, naval and air base for the Soviet soldiers of aggression. And with 300,000 Japanese prisoners of war still in Soviet and Red Chinese hands, it was no surprise during 1950-1951 when reports filtered out of Sakhalin that the Russian commanders had assembled in Sakhalin the youngest and finest of the captured Japanese in order to train them as the cadre of a "liberation army." Some day the Kremlin hopes to send this "liberation army" across to Hokkaido to plunge it into armed conflict, killing Japanese women and children and destroying Hokkaido's economy, just as Stalin's North Korean puppets were sent across the Thirty-eighth Parallel in 1950 to conquer South Korea—or destroy her.

Meanwhile, the Red Chinese Army, armed in Manchuria through Soviet connivance with the precious weapons captured from the Japanese Kwantung Army—the Red Chinese Army swept south, and by the end of 1949 all of China proper was under the military heel of the Soviet-backed Communist Party of China. It is not without significance that Mao, the Chinese Communist dictator, has never claimed that the Reds' victory over



Nationalist China was a political victory. He frankly says it was a strictly military victory.

The victory of Mao had hardly been secured when slave labor divisions and units of the Red Chinese Army set to work building a ring of air, naval and military bases stretching from the North Korean and Russian Far East border around through Tientsin and Shanghai to the former Japanese naval-base island of Yulin. Today such a city as Yulin is the scene of intensive military and naval activities, all under the skilled direction of the Russian "elder brothers" of Mao Tze-tung.

Throughout Red China the war fever is being raised, the children are playing the same militarist games once played in militarist Imperial Japan and the martial temper of China is being quickened with a hate campaign directed against Japan and the United States. The Chinese Army now being trained inside Red China will soon be one of the largest military forces in the world.

Concurrently, the Russians have feverishly expanded their naval bases in the Far East. They have built new air bases in the Soviet Far East, in Sakhalin and in Kamchatka. As the Russians and their Red Chinese blood donors talk of "peace," they are systematically preparing for war.

In June of 1950 the Russian masters pushed the button and the North Korean puppet troops moved against South Korea. Had not the free world's heroic troops in the Pusan perimeter held the line, the North Korean puppets would have swept through all Korea and then across to Japan. Captured Communist orders now prove that the real drive was not only against South Korea but through Korea to Japan.

American and United Nations action smashed the Soviet drive to reduce Japan to the status of a Soviet industrial colony. Since then the Soviet war-mongers have recklessly expended millions of rubles and tens of millions of hours of North Korean, Japanese and Chinese slave labor in expanding the Communist military, naval and air bases circling Japan.

No country in the world is today as woefully unprepared to defend herself as is Japan. And no country in the world is today as surrounded by a terrifying military-naval-air machine as is peaceful and independent Japan.

We return to our original theme.

The Americans are no longer regarded by the left-wing Japanese intellectual as liberators but instead as a type of war criminal intent on plunging Japan into the horrors of World War III.

The left-wing Socialist labor movement—and, of course, it is not all of Japan's labor movement by any means—talks and acts as if the Americans are building bases in Japan in a frantic drive to launch a war of aggression against the Soviet Union and Red China.

The intelligentsia, by and large, are convinced that the Americans want to rearm Japan in order to use Japanese troops in Korea and other Asian areas.

The strange and terrible blindness of the Japanese left-wing intellectual is one of the most curious phenomena of the postwar period.

The vast territorial reaches of Red China and the Soviet Far East cover and protect the most gigantic and terrible aggressive military, naval and air machine in modern history. Five million trained and hardened Red Chinese soldiers face a Japan with a tiny reserve police force of 100,000 men. Yet the left-wing intellectuals in Japan talk of America sending this picayune force against Communist China's many millions! Obviously they do not realize how utterly ridiculous are their rumors and arguments.

Japanese cities are still being rebuilt. Many of the Japanese workers live in shells of houses. Their life is hard and coldly difficult. They dread any more atom bombs. They want no more B-29 raids. They want no resurrection of an arrogant, face-slapping Japanese Army.

But the strange thing today in a Japan revisited is that by and large the Japanese people seem to be convinced that if such things come to pass, it will be because of the United States. They have yet to realize the dread and grim truth that if there is war in the Pacific, it will be only because Stalin and Mao determine on war.

Japan revisited is perhaps symbolized by a pinball game, called pachinko, which is now a veritable craze. A sizable percentage of the entire national income of Japan is dropped into the pachinko halls which infest Japan. Nightly hundreds of thousands of Japanese stand before the pinball machines, intent on the game.

War rages in nearby Korea. On three sides Japan is surrounded by a vast array of Communist military, naval and air bases.

But the Japanese are busy playing pachinko!

Will Japan realize the danger before the pachinko halls are razed by Communist fire-bombs? That is what we who love Japan wonder.



*When Tojo fell, writes Mr. Deverall, the feelings of the people of Japan toward U.S. were very friendly. Now attitude is different*

# OUR PROGRESS IS STEADY

By WILLIAM SCHOENBERG

*President, United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers International Union*

**A**S WE begin a new year, the members, field representatives and officers of the United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers can review their union's activities in the past few years with a considerable degree of pride and satisfaction. To be sure, there have been some disappointments and setbacks, but the overall picture is one of progress and sound growth.

Born of the great depression of the early 1930s and organized, fashioned and nourished by the American Federation of Labor, the United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers International Union represents the hard work, sacrifices and determination of the workers in our industries throughout the United States and Canada.

Our international union is a shining example of industrial unionism within the great American Federation of Labor. There is no more loyal group within the A. F. of L., and we rank at the top of the list of those who have carried the message and service of the organized labor movement throughout the United States and Canada.

The Portland cement industry of the United States and Canada is composed of some 170 manufacturing plants in widely scattered localities, ranging from Southern Florida to Corner Brook, Newfoundland; from Corner Brook to Bamberton, British Columbia, and from Bamberton southward to Corpus Christi and Houston, Texas. The lime and gypsum industries are almost as equally scattered, for those manufacturing plants are also located at the sources of raw materials.

About 75 per cent of the cement plants are operated by what we term "multi-plant" companies. Twenty-three of such companies operate from two to fourteen or fifteen plants. The remaining 25 per cent of the industry is composed of some forty-five single-plant operators. It should be apparent that, from the standpoint of successful collective bargaining, it is



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essential that one organization be in position to speak effectively for the employees of the multi-plant operators, for it is these large employers who are the leaders of the industry.

Among all the cement plants operated by the multi-plant companies, the workers in only one plant are non-union. The United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers International Union has collective bargaining contracts covering the workers in 86 per cent of the plants in the multi-plant group. The workers in the remaining 13 per cent of the plants are organized by eight separate and distinct dual unions. The position of our International Union is almost as well established among the single plant cement producers.

All in all, there are only seven non-union cement manufacturing plants in the U.S. and Canada. The position of the dual unions is being relentlessly diminished by effective organizational work by our field representatives throughout our jurisdiction. For example, just a few years ago the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers represented twelve plant groups of cement workers. Today this organization has only one group of cement workers left.

We have experienced our share of interferences and attempted raids. These interferences are almost without exception attempted raids of established locals of our union, for seldom is any organization other than the United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers interested in the tedious and time-consuming job of organizing the unorganized workers in the cement, lime and gypsum industries. In the past few months we have successfully repulsed raiding attempts on four of our local unions by resoundingly defeating dual organizations.

Since V-J Day eleven separate new cement plants have commenced operations in the United States and Canada. In every case we found the workers receptive to our organization. Local unions were established in each plant. With one exception, the workers chose our organization as their collective bargaining representative. In the one exception we failed to win the NLRB election by the narrowest margin possible—a tie vote. We expect to close our ranks in that particular plant in 1953.

The activities of the Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers have by no means been confined to organizational work alone. We have won substantial victories across the bargaining table and, particularly in 1952, on the picket line. Perhaps our outstanding achievement in the past few years has been the establishment through collective bargaining of formal old-age and disability pensions for our members.

Our pension program is fundamentally based along the following lines: financed solely by the employers, exclusive of social security benefits; full funding of all benefits on a level-method basis; joint administration; and benefits geared to length of service and earnings.

Substantial improvements have been made in hospitalization, life, sickness and occupational disability insurance programs which almost universally cover our members.

In the past two years the union has developed and established company-wide bargaining with one of the largest cement producers in the United States and with the largest producer and only multi-plant operator in Canada. In addition to the company-wide labor contract with the large U.S. producer, a model pension program was negotiated on a company-wide basis.

These developments in company-wide bargaining have been watched with keen interest throughout our organization. Unquestionably, this type of sound labor relations will contribute greatly toward more thoughtful consideration of employer-employee interests. At the same time this procedure will create an atmosphere conducive to realistic presentation, deliberation and adjustment of the aims and ideals of industrial democracy and free enterprise.

Our contract negotiations during 1952 yielded substantial wage increases. In addition, pay for six non-worked holidays has been generally established, night shift pay differentials enlarged, and vacation programs improved to provide a third week of vacation for fifteen-year workers, and in some cases a fourth vacation week for twenty-five-year workers.

Our international union from its inception has assumed its rightful position in the various organizations and departments of the American Federation of Labor and the recognized labor movement. Our affiliated local unions are required under our constitution to be affiliated with their respective State Federations of Labor and city central bodies.

We are actively affiliated with the Union Label and Service Trades Department of the A. F. of L. and regularly participate in its annual conventions. Various of our local unions have participated in the recent Union Industries Shows sponsored by the Label Trades Department.

We are deeply interested in the activities of the International Labor Press of America and take an active part in its annual conventions and other activities.

Our affiliation with the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada is on a real partnership basis, and each year our Canadian local unions elect one from their membership to serve as our international delegate to the Trades and Labor Congress conventions.

Several years ago, upon the recommendation of the late William Green and Vice-President Matthew

Woll of the American Federation of Labor, our international union affiliated with the International Federation of Industrial Organizations and General Workers Unions, which is the international trade secretariat of unions of manual and non-manual workers in the chemical, papermaking, glass, ceramic and miscellaneous industries. The I.F.I.O.G.W.U. is a counterpart of the International Transport Workers Union and other international trade secretariats.

The United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers International Union is well established among the workers in the industrial plants under our jurisdiction. Our growth has been healthy because we have been disciplined by adversity and hard work. Our future is bright because our membership is energetic and loyal.

We have our problems, but we are anxious to overcome them in the real trade union manner. We respect our obligations to the entire labor movement as an integral part of it. We seek the goodwill and support of all our friends and business associates within and without the house of labor in building a better tomorrow for the working men and women of the United States and Canada.

# What Unionism Means

By W. L. ALLEN

*President, Commercial Telegraphers Union*

**T**HE true meaning of unionism cannot be emphasized too often, particularly for those who gladly accept the fruits of collective bargaining but regard the payment of dues and attendance at union meetings as great sacrifices which they should not be called upon to make.

Unionism means an adequate wage with which to buy the necessities of life—sufficient food, clothing, housing, education for the children, medical care, hospitalization, insurance and old-age pensions.

Unionism means protection against discrimination by ruthless employers, protection of seniority and other rights on the job and the adjustment of grievances.

Unionism means equal pay for men and women, extra pay for over-

time and night work and work performed on holidays and Sundays.

Unionism means the minimum wage law, vacations with pay and the forty-hour week to provide more leisure time in which to share in the enjoyment of living.

Unionism means the right to organize and to bargain collectively with the employer through representatives of the employees' own choosing, and to be protected by law in that right.

Unionism means hundreds of other laws that organized labor has been successful in having enacted which provide for the health, safety and comfort of wage-earners, including workmen's compensation and sanitary work shops.

Unionism has meant the defeat of

many vicious anti-labor laws sponsored by our enemies which would have reversed much of the progress enjoyed by labor.

Unionism means an equal voice for labor along with all other groups in many affairs of government, domestic and international.

Unionism means cooperation with workers of other nations and a helping hand to those workers who are risking and losing their lives in brave efforts to reestablish trade unions crushed by ruthless dictators.

Unionism means determined opposition to Communist aggression for world domination, which would mean the elimination of all rights as individuals and total destruction of our labor organizations. Yes, unionism means a great many things.



# WE'RE ON OUR TOES IN CHATTANOOGA

By **JOE B. MAHONEY**

*President, Chattanooga Central Labor Union*



**MR. MAHONEY**

**F**EW if any developments in the history of the United States have meant more to a region than the Tennessee Valley Authority has meant to the Tennessee Valley—and the working people of Chattanooga, living in the very heart of the Valley, are proud of the TVA and of the part they have played in making this great experiment possible.

Under the impetus of the TVA's far-reaching program of development, the people in the Tennessee Valley watershed area have made tremendous progress during the past twenty years. And the American Federation of Labor movement of Chattanooga has progressed as the area has progressed.

The Chattanooga Central Labor Union has been an important link in the TVA program. From the start, organized labor was in the forefront in espousing this great cause. Members of A. F. of L. unions built Chickamauga Dam, spanning the Tennessee River at the gates of Chattanooga, and the other twenty-six dams of the vast TVA system. Today members of A. F. of L. unions maintain the system, work in TVA's offices and service the power lines.

The A. F. of L. men and women of Chattanooga are proud of their Central Labor Union. Powerful in numerical strength, it is more powerful in its matchless spirit of unity and organized purpose. The Chattanooga labor movement stands out as a great force and influence.

It was in July of 1897 that seven local unions applied for a charter from the American Federation of Labor. The charter was granted and the Central Labor Union began to function. Almost from the start, the Chattanooga labor movement has been energetic and virile. Throughout the fifty-five years since the granting of

the American Federation of Labor charter, the organized labor movement of Chattanooga has served the community effectively and has obtained greater advancements for all the people of the city than any other group.

The Chattanooga labor movement has also been able to contribute materially to the advancement of the cause of unionism through the leadership that has been furnished by the local movement to the Tennessee Federation of Labor, the American Federation of Labor and the great international labor unions throughout the country.

Our local movement has been unusually fortunate in attracting men of great capability, men who dedicate their lives to improving the lot of their fellow workers, men who have been able to accomplish much with the unfailing support given them by a strong, responsible movement.

We are very proud of these men and women who are doing such an excellent job for their unions, their city and their state, even if we do complain that "no sooner do we train a good man than, *wham!*, his international union grabs him." It's an old story with us.

Many trade unionists know Paul Aymon, old-timer in the Chattanooga labor movement, who was a militant organizer for the A. F. of L. until his retirement a few years ago. Three former presidents of the Central Labor Union are presently serving their international unions—Curtis Sims and Amos Miller of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union and Taylor Buchanan, editor of the journal of the International Molders Union.

As for international representatives, it is practically "old home week"

when any one of them comes into Chattanooga, so many of them come from our local ranks.

Perhaps we boast a bit, but we have always maintained that Chattanooga unions furnish more workers to their international unions, percentage-wise, than the labor movement of any other city.

Chattanooga labor has supplied leadership to the Tennessee Federation of Labor since the early days of the Central Labor Union. A check of State Federation officers throughout its fifty-four years shows that almost always a Chattanoogaan has been either the president or the secretary of the state labor movement.

Stanton E. Smith, one of the very able young labor leaders in the South, is presently serving his third term as president of the Tennessee Federation of Labor. He is doing an outstanding job in that office and also as secretary-treasurer of the Central Labor Union, coming to us from Teachers' Local 246 of Chattanooga.

Always keenly interested in civic affairs, the Chattanooga labor movement has been able to supply many competent men and women as officials of the city and county governments. Almost without exception, they have made creditable records in office, thereby enhancing the prestige of organized labor.

Our present mayor, P. R. Olgiati, is an active member of the Bricklayers Union and participated in C.L.U. activities for many years. The record he is making as a sound and progressive administrator is receiving statewide acclaim from business as

well as from the ranks of labor. The Central Labor Union is proud of the leadership it has been able to furnish in these fields.

The Central Labor Union has other assets. The farsighted leaders of the A. F. of L. movement of Chattanooga established labor's own local newspaper thirty-seven years ago. *The Labor World*, owned and operated by the Central Labor Union, is the official spokesman for A. F. of L. unions in Chattanooga. It is the medium through which labor presents its side of life's complex story. All members of A. F. of L. unions affiliated with the central body receive the newspaper each week in their homes as a part of their union's per capita tax to the C.L.U.

Set up as a non-profit corporation, *The Labor World* has its own press and complete printing equipment. It prints only labor's own paper and operates under a code of ethics laid down at its inception that has not only reaped solid support of the labor movement but has gained the respect and approbation of the community as a whole. The paper exerts a strong liberal influence in the community.

The Central Labor Union elects a Board of Directors of *The Labor World* annually. This board is responsible for operation of the paper and has complete control of policy, subject to review by the C.L.U. The board selects a managing editor, who is charged with executing established policies.

Twice over the years the Central Labor Union put aside money to buy a home where the local labor unions could meet. Both times the funds were expended to assist unions that were on strike. In 1940, however, the Central Labor Union purchased the Chattanooga Labor Temple and has maintained it as one of the most up-to-date labor homes in the South. Some seventy-five local unions hold their meetings in the Chattanooga Labor

Temple. Sixteen unions maintain full-time business offices there. The building is debt-free.

When the Labor Temple was purchased in 1940 the Labor Temple Board, established as a separate entity to manage the building, thought that there was far more space than would ever be used. Today every available square foot is in use and the Labor Temple Board is faced with the problem of expanding facilities.

The labor movement has grown in Chattanooga.

The seven local unions which joined together to form the Chattanooga Central Labor Union in 1897 have increased to eighty unions.

**T**HE Central Labor Union operates today on a program which has three main divisions: (1) organization, (2) assistance to local unions when requested, and (3) public relations. The Central Labor Union employs a full-time secretary. The office is equipped to assist unions and individuals in the labor movement in all matters pertaining to contracts, NLRB, WSB, pensions or any other matters concerning working conditions. The program is set up to render assistance to any union that may need it; it is particularly planned to assist small unions and new unions.

Union men and women are encouraged to participate in public affairs and activities. Representatives from labor serve on almost all civic boards—welfare, education, community chest, public power, Red Cross and public housing. Whenever there has been a public cause, some goal to be achieved that will build up our community, the labor movement has carried its share of the responsibility.

Outstanding in C.L.U. activities during recent years is the work done by the Chattanooga League for Political Education, the official political arm of the C.L.U. The League, set up along lines recommended by La-

bor's League for Political Education, has been an effective force in local, state and national politics. While we seldom win a complete ticket, the Chattanooga labor movement is credited with tremendous strength and influence, as evidenced by the fact that two radio stations broadcast the returns from the Labor Temple on last Election Day. We were first on the air with election returns telephoned in by labor precinct captains.

A detailed account of the activities of the Chattanooga League for Political Education could consume all the space allotted for this story of labor in Chattanooga. Perhaps it is enough to say here that the C.L.P.E. has established a program which has been called a model that labor in other cities of similar size might well emulate.

If it all sounds too good to be true, don't be misled—the Chattanooga labor movement has problems, too.

There is much to be done—organization of textile workers, office employees, retail clerks, insurance groups. There are many fields which offer opportunities for organization locally.

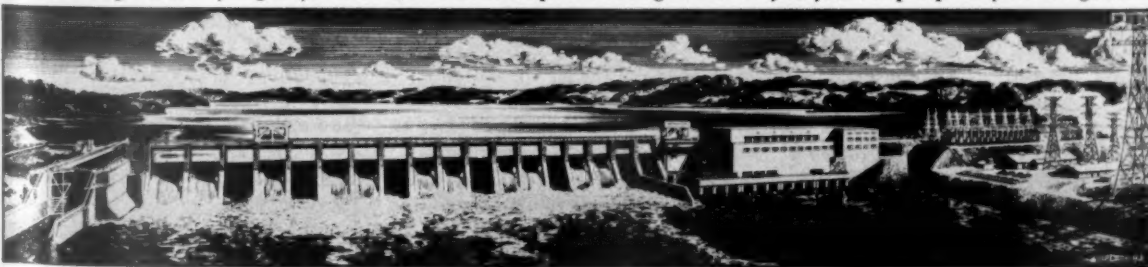
Workers' education is also a matter of consideration. Plans for a South-wide workers' education program are making headway. The Chattanooga C.L.U. is cooperating in those plans.

Educational programs are to be included as a feature of the Central Labor Union's meetings. Workers' education, neglected far too long in the South, is one of the major problems confronting labor today.

The Chattanooga Central Labor Union is a dynamic force in the community. It has fought for public schools, for TVA and for public power. It fights for low-cost public housing, slum clearance, better schools, health insurance.

Our program is good; our aims are high. The labor movement of Chattanooga, Tennessee, will continue to fight for the welfare of the people.

### ***Chattanooga labor fought for TVA, and it has produced great benefits for all people of the region***



# THIS IS NOT JUSTICE

## Employer Charging Violation of Federal Law Obtains Writ Against Labor in State Court

By J. ALBERT WOLL

**I**T frequently occurs that blind submission to so-called "legal technicality" or arbitrary adherence to procedural formality in legal matters results in a miscarriage of justice.

The case of the Montgomery Building and Construction Trades Council of Montgomery, Alabama, recently decided by the Supreme Court of the United States, furnishes an example in which legal technicality permitted the evasion and circumvention of statutory provisions, thus bringing about a result wholly unintended by Congress.

Bear Brothers, Inc., a general contractor, had engaged Ledbetter Erection Company, Inc., to erect the structural steel necessary in the building of an apartment building. It was alleged that the Montgomery Building and Construction Trades Council sought to organize the employees of Bear Brothers and that it established a picket line at the construction site; that the employees of the Ledbetter Company, engaged to erect the structural steel, refused to cross the picket line, thus halting work on the building.

The Ledbetter Erection Company sought and obtained a temporary injunction without notice in the State Circuit Court of Montgomery County, prohibiting members of the Building and Construction Trades Council from carrying on peaceful picketing of the project. It was, in effect, alleged that the picketing of the general contractor induced the employees of the subcontractor to refuse to work, with the object of requiring the general contractor to recognize and bargain with members of the Building and Construction Trades Council.

The issuance of the temporary injunction, alone, might not be considered unusual, except for the fact that the temporary injunction was obtained in a state court—not on the ground that the state law had been violated but on the ground that the union was violating the federal Taft-Hartley Act provisions against secondary boycotting.

It is well known that the Taft-Hartley Act itself sets up ample and, in fact, duplicate means—Labor Board proceedings and damage suits—for remedying any violation of the secondary boycott provisions of the act. Thus, it provides that such violations shall constitute unfair labor practices and, as such, may be prevented by proceedings before the National Labor Relations Board which, after hearings, may issue a cease and desist order.

In connection with these proceedings, the regional attorney of the Labor Board, to whom the case is referred, *must* apply to the Federal District Court for an injunction if, after investigation, he has reasonable cause to believe a violation has occurred. These are the mandatory provisions of the act.

The arguments are strong and convincing in support of the proposition that these mandatory enforcement procedures provided in the act itself are exclusive and that no other procedures are to be applied by any processes of judicial legislation.

An examination of the Taft-Hartley Act and its legislative history shows clearly that Congress intended that the enforcement procedures which it provided should be exclusive and that they precluded jurisdiction in the state courts to grant temporary in-

junctive relief on the petition of private parties.

The law provides that the Labor Board shall have power to prevent any person from engaging in unfair labor practices and that "this power shall not be affected by any other means of adjustment or prevention that has been or may be established by agreement, law or otherwise." The only exception to this provision is set forth in a proviso that the Labor Board is empowered to cede to a state agency jurisdiction over cases in any industry—other than mining, manufacturing, communications and transportation, except where predominantly local in character—under certain circumstances. This proviso, however, has no application to the Montgomery case because the Board did not cede jurisdiction over the case to any other agency.

The power involved is the power "to prevent any person from engaging in any unfair labor practice (listed in Section 8) affecting commerce." The power of the Board is not to be affected by any other means of prevention established by agreement, law or otherwise.

Obviously, a temporary injunction issued by a state court prohibiting activities proscribed by the statute is a means affecting the prevention of such unfair labor practice, established by "law or otherwise."

It is well known that a temporary injunction, issued prior to a full hearing of the merits of the controversy, may operate to prejudice greatly and destroy the substantial rights of those against whom the injunction is issued. In recognition of this fact, appeals from the granting of such injunctions have generally been authorized by



federal and state statutes. The abuses which may result from the issuance of such injunctions are particularly severe in cases involving labor disputes. A temporary injunction against striking or picketing may continue until the dispute has been settled, thus preventing the union from using the only means at its command to enforce its bargaining demands.

Moreover, if the Taft-Hartley Act were interpreted to permit state courts to participate in the enforcement of the act by the issuance of temporary injunctions, such an interpretation would sabotage one of the recognized purposes of the act, namely, to remove complex problems of labor relations from the haphazard control of numerous inexperienced tribunals and put them under the supervision of a single expert board. Only in this way could harmony and order be substituted for discord and strife.

Again, why should Congress particularly specify the procedure to be followed, detailing the circumstances under which, and the court in which, temporary injunctions could be obtained by the National Labor Relations Board, if it were intended that they could be obtained in any state or federal court by any private party?

The debates and proceedings in Congress show conclusively that it was not intended that injunctions against so-called secondary boycott strikes and picketing could be obtained by private employers in either state or federal courts. The question was considered and discussed at length. Senator Morse of Oregon proposed that temporary relief for alleged violations of the act be obtainable only through the Board. He said:

"My proposal would in no way impair the legitimate rights of labor under the Norris-LaGuardia Act and the Clayton Act, since I do not propose that employers be allowed to obtain injunctions against labor or that unions and their members be subjected to the drastic civil and criminal penalties that could be applied in days gone by."

Likewise, the Senate committee considering the legislation said:

"Time is usually of the essence in these matters, and consequently the relatively slow procedure of Board hearing and order, followed many months later by an enforcement decree of the Circuit Court of Appeals, falls

short of achieving the desired objectives—the prompt elimination of the obstructions to the free flow of commerce and encouragement of the practice and procedure of free and private collective bargaining. Hence we have provided that the Board, acting in the public interest and not in vindication of purely private rights, may seek injunctive relief in the case of all types of unfair labor practices and that it shall also seek such relief in the case of strikes and boycotts defined as unfair labor practices."

A few Senators objected to provisions giving the Board exclusive power to obtain temporary relief for alleged violations of the unfair practice sections of the act. In line with



J. ALBERT WOLL

these objections, the Ball amendment was proposed, permitting such proceedings to be instituted "by any party suffering loss or damage or threatened with loss or damage."

Many Senators expressed their objections to the amendment, indicating clearly that they desired to limit the granting of injunctions to cases in which they were sought by the Labor Board rather than by private employers. As was said by Senator H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey:

"I am opposed to this amendment. While I am in entire accord that there can be no defense of secondary boycotts and jurisdictional strikes, I feel that the reported bill treating these matters as unfair labor practices is the preferable way to deal with them—putting the responsibility on the Na-

tional Labor Relations Board. Furthermore, I do not favor the opening up of the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act except on petition of the government.

"By treating these evils as unfair labor practices, the use of the injunction is given to the National Labor Relations Board and is not open to abuse by individual employers. At least we should experiment with this procedure before adopting the more severe remedies."

The Ball amendment was put to a vote and defeated.

The objection to allowing employers to seek injunctions to enforce the act was continued, and when the proposal authorizing suits for damages caused by jurisdictional strikes and secondary boycotts was under consideration, inquiry was made as to whether this proposal might give rise to the granting of injunctive relief in that type of case. To this inquiry, Senator Taft replied as follows:

"Let me say in reply to the Senator or anyone else who makes the same argument, that that is not the intention of the author of the amendment. It is not his belief as to the effect of it. It is not the advice of counsel to the committee. Under those circumstances, I do not believe that any court would construe the amendment along the lines suggested by the Senator from Oregon."

Thus it may be seen that under no circumstances did Congress intend that private employers be permitted to apply to federal or state courts for temporary injunctions for the enforcement of unfair labor practice provisions of the act.

In view of the foregoing, it is indeed surprising that the Supreme Court of Alabama in the Montgomery case should have approved the issuance of the temporary injunction by the State Circuit Court upon the petition of a private employer. The majority of courts considering this question have refused to do so. Furthermore, it seems probable that if the question were considered by the Supreme Court of the United States, the exclusive power of the Board would be upheld.

A final decision of this question by the Supreme Court appeared to be forthcoming when the court accepted this case for review by granting certiorari. However, at this juncture, the paralyzing force of legal techni-

calities and formalities arose to prevent a final decision.

The Montgomery Building and Construction Trades Council had moved for a dissolution of the injunction in the State Circuit Court, which motion had been denied. The Alabama Supreme Court had upheld this decision and the Supreme Court of the United States had granted a review. That court, however, upon final consideration of the case, said:

"At the very threshold we are presented with a question of jurisdiction."

The court then pointed to the statutory requirement that such a case could be reviewed only if the judgment or decree under attack is a "final judgment or decree." The court referred to the case of *Gibbons versus Ogden*, decided in the early days of the court, in which it was held that a ruling denying dissolution of an injunction was not a final decree, and quoting from a recent decision, said:

"This requirement is not one of those technicalities to be easily scorned."

The court pointed out the distinction between a temporary injunction and a final or permanent one and held that "there was no final judgment of the Supreme Court of Alabama for review." As a result the court reconsidered and reversed its previous ruling granting a review of the case, stating that it was "improvidently granted."

The weakness of the majority decision is briefly and clearly disclosed in the dissenting opinion of Justice Douglas, concurred in by Justice Black, the substance of which is set forth as follows:

"The question presented is the power of the state court to issue a temporary injunction in this kind of labor dispute. \* \* \* The mischief of temporary injunctions in labor controversies is well known. It is done when the interlocutory order is issued. The damage is often irreparable. The assertion by the state court of power to act in an interlocutory way is final."

"Whether it has that power may be determined without reference to any future proceedings which may be taken. Unless the rule of finality is to be purely mechanical, which to date it has not been (see *Radio Station WOW versus Johnson*, 326 U.S. 120, 124), we should determine now

whether the National Labor Relations Act permits a state court to interfere with a labor controversy in a way which, though interim in form, irretrievably alters the status of the dispute or in fact settles it."

In a footnote to this dissent the justices point out that the "practical" rather than "technical" construction is as necessary in this case as in cases involving appeals from final decisions of federal courts.

As a result of the stand taken by the Supreme Court, the power of the State Court of Alabama to issue a temporary injunction has not been overturned. However, the action of the Supreme Court in refusing to review the case on its merits does not have the effect of either upholding or denying the power to issue the injunction.

When the Taft-Hartley Act was passed, it was pointed out that its harmful effects might not be fully

apparent at the outset and that only time and experience would reveal the extent to which it would restrict labor.

If state courts are permitted to intrude into the enforcement of the act by injunctions issued at the suit of employers, a hitherto hidden weapon will be made available to employers engaged in labor disputes and the abuses of the labor injunction will be in large measure reestablished.

Moreover, it is equally certain that this procedure would result in such confusion and chaos as to render impossible the orderly enforcement of the act by the National Labor Relations Board.

Certainly if labor-management relations are to be subjected to regulation by the National Labor Relations Board, the Board should be enabled to establish consistent, harmonious rules, uniformly applicable in every state and territory, free from interference by state tribunals.

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## 50 Years Ago in the FEDERATIONIST

THERE are in the United States something less than sixteen million wage-earners. Of this number about two and a half millions are organized. Rather a good showing when it is borne in mind that our movement is yet in its youth and that ours is still largely an agricultural country.

ORGANIZED labor stands for a minimum wage, that minimum being a living wage, which, when expended in the most economical manner, shall be sufficient to maintain an average-sized family in a manner consistent with whatever the contemporary local civilization recognizes as indispensable to physical and mental health, or as required by the rational self-respect of human beings.

UPON a better distribution of wealth depends the physical, the mental and the moral improvement of the working masses, the brawn and sinew of the nation. This fairer distribution of wealth manifests itself by yielding more of the necessities and comforts of life to a lessening effort—in an increasing of wages, a shortening of

the working hours, and an amelioration in other conditions of life.

THE masses of organized workmen, as citizens, view with no little concern the massing of capital and the growth of trusts. But as members of a trade union movement, they take no cognizance of them. Trade unionism considers only employers and employed, and their relation to each other. With trade unionists the primary consideration is the best terms obtainable for the commodity they have to sell—their labor.

THE New Orleans Convention of the American Federation of Labor stands out boldly and pre-eminently as a gathering of the representatives of the wage-earners of our country who performed and authorized splendid work in the interests of the toiling masses of our country, now and for all time to come.

THERE have been a number of large general labor organizations in this country, and there have been in Great Britain numerous federations of labor unions. But there has never been anywhere in the world a federation of labor so powerful in numbers and so varied in features as the American Federation of Labor.

# LABOR NEWS BRIEFS

►The Maintenance of Way Employees on the Tucson, Cornelia and Gila Bend, a short line in Arizona, have defeated an attempted raid. The union also reports that it has organized the waymen of the King Street passenger station in Seattle, Wash.

►Local 26 of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers, in a contract negotiated with Gus' Butter Maid Bakery, Denver, Colo., has gained higher wages, better working conditions and a union shop agreement.

►Wage increases have been secured by the Carpenters for commercial work in St. Charles and St. Charles County, Mo. The new hourly rate is \$2.90. The union negotiated with the St. Charles Contractors Association.

►Local 831 of the Machinists has won a wage increase, improved holiday and vacation provisions and other benefits in a new contract signed with the Chandler Machine Products Company, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

►Local 552 of the Brotherhood of Teamsters has won a general wage increase for warehouse employees of the International Harvester Company's parts depot at Kansas City, Kans.

►The Hospital and Institutional Workers in San Francisco have won a new agreement covering 1,600 employees of the city's major private hospitals. The agreement calls for a wage increase, higher night-work and split-shift premiums, improved health and welfare coverage and other gains.

►The Meat Cutters have won N.L.R.B. elections conducted at A. and P. stores in eleven Indiana cities. By a better than 3 to 1 margin, the union was victorious at Anderson, Muncie, Elwood, Hartford City, Kokomo, Huntington, Logansport, Marion, New Castle, Peru and Wabash.

►About 175 members of Local 656, Butcher Workmen, employed in the Portland, Oreg., packing plant of Armour and Company, have obtained a general wage increase, an additional increase for women workers and additional holiday and night differential pay for all employees.

►Local 38 of the Jewelry Workers, New York City, reports the successful conclusion of negotiations with the Allied Silversmiths Association and all independent shops in the industry. Wage increases were won for workers employed in thirty-five shops.

►The United Textile Workers have won a strike at two plants of the Continental Diamond Fiber Company. A new two-year contract calls for a wage increase and other benefits. The Continental plants are located at Marshallton and Newark, Del.

►Local 1092, Retail Clerks, has won a substantial increase in premium pay for night and Sunday work for union food clerks in the Portland, Oreg., area. The wage boost affects grocery, bakery and delicatessen clerks working in stores in the metropolitan area.

►Local 336 of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers has negotiated a contract with the Hotel Seville, Springfield, Mo., giving the employees a substantial wage increase and an improved vacation plan.

►Local 26 of the Brotherhood of Teamsters has won an hourly wage increase for some 110 freight drivers and handlers at Danville, Ill., in negotiations with nine freight firms.

►Local 6 of the Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers has obtained wage increases and fringe benefits at the Buffalo, Iowa, plant of the Dewey Portland Cement Company.

*Denver members of Office Employees Union held a party and turned in a check to help area orphans*







*A banquet was held at Ithaca, New York, to mark the tenth anniversary of Lodge 1607 of Machinists*

►Local 2516 of the Carpenters has won a health and welfare plan for 583 members at the New Albany, Ind., and Louisville, Ky., plants of the General Plywood Corporation. In addition to the health and welfare plan, which is to be financed entirely by General Plywood, Local 2516 also won a 3.2 per cent wage increase, retroactive to June.

►District 9 of the Machinists has secured a wage increase of 17½ cents an hour for journeymen machinists employed by the Obear-Nester Glass Company, East St. Louis, Ill. Another advance is a provision for three weeks' paid vacation for employees who have put in fifteen years of service.

►Local 69 of the Upholsterers, Rochester, N. Y., has signed a two-year contract with the Trimble Company, Inc. The pact calls for a cost-of-living bonus which brings the total of cost-of-living increases in the past three years to 27 cents an hour.

►Local 753, A. F. of L. Auto Workers, has gained a new paid holiday, a group insurance plan, an improved vacation plan and other benefits as a result of contract negotiations with the Cuno Engineering Corporation, Meriden, Conn.

►Local 231 of the Plumbers, El Paso, Texas, has obtained a 12½-cent hourly wage increase, bringing journeymen scales to \$2.75 an hour. The raise affects approximately 400 members of the local union.

►Local 729 of the Teamsters has won an increase at the Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company, East St. Louis, Ill.

►Local 247 of the Tobacco Workers, Louisville, in an agreement with the American Tobacco Company, has obtained wage boosts, an increase in sick benefit payments and increased insurance benefits.

►Recent emphasis by the Ladies' Garment Workers on the organization of non-union children's and infants' wear shops in Northern New Jersey has resulted in unionization of factories in Newark and Jersey City.

►Local 1256, Bus Drivers, El Paso, Texas, has signed a two-year contract with City Lines, Inc. The union gets a wage increase and an improved vacation plan. The higher pay was made retroactive to December 1.

►More than 1,000 members of the Ladies' Garment Workers at three plants of the Maidenform Brassiere Company in West Virginia have ratified a three-year renewal of the union agreement with the firm, providing wage increases and a number of other significant improvements. Locals in Clarksburg, Huntington and Princeton conducted negotiations.

►At the Twin City Arsenal, New Brighton, Minn., Local 132 of the Laborers and Local 61 of the Painters have won bargaining rights.

►Local 163 of the Laborers, Butte, Mont., has won a wage increase in negotiations with the Victor Chemical Company's plant at Silver Bow, Mont.



*Smiling ladies were in charge of annual Christmas party staged by Teachers in Detroit. With them is Frank Martel of C.L.U.*

## Accent on Manpower

(Continued from Page 5)

encouraged to look for jobs? To what extent are additional facilities, such as child care centers, needed to attract women to the labor market?

(6) *Operating a manpower program.* What is the best way for obtaining the needed cooperation of labor, management and government to solve manpower problems? How should the government be organized to handle these questions?

ALL these are vitally important questions affecting the nation's ability to meet a sudden emergency. Moreover, the answers need to be worked out in advance. The job cannot wait until the emergency arises. To use but one example, an engineer or scientist must spend from four to seven years in training for his job. The period of apprenticeship in skilled trades is normally two to four years. If the supply of skilled craftsmen, engineers or scientists has to be increased by 1957 or 1960, action must be taken at once so that an increasing number of high school graduates can be attracted into these fields.

This necessity for developing manpower policies is something new for this country. A manpower program was necessary in World War II, but even in the most critical days of 1944-45 manpower did not seriously hinder the war effort. The most difficult jobs to fill proved to be the heavy, unpleasant, unskilled jobs.

Following V-J Day the government had no formal manpower program until the Soviet-inspired invasion of South Korea in 1950. At the present time the Department of Labor's Defense Manpower Administration serves as a focal point for civilian manpower policy. Organized labor has gained the recognized right to pass upon all phases of manpower policy through the National Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee on which the A. F. of L., the C.I.O. and the railroad union groups are represented. This fourteen-man Committee makes recommendations to the Director of Defense Mobilization.

Until his death, President William Green represented the American Federation of Labor on this Committee. Other A. F. of L. representatives or

alternates are George Lynch, president, Pattern Makers League of North America; Boris Shishkin, A. F. of L. economist; Lewis G. Hines, special representative; Eric Peterson, secretary-treasurer, International Association of Machinists; and W. G. Flinn, grand lodge representative, I.A.M.

This Committee, supported by a network of regional and area labor-management committees throughout the country, has been meeting regularly during the past twenty months to advise upon defense manpower problems. More recently the Committee, realizing how little work has been done to develop a manpower program for full mobilization, has created a special subcommittee of two labor and two management representatives to devote itself to this task.

THE subcommittee's assignment is to develop a set of recommendations for two types of manpower actions: (1) those which should be undertaken now to prepare for full mobilization and (2) those which will become necessary if full mobilization should arise.

The subcommittee's approach to its assignment stems from previous agreement among labor and management spokesmen on the most fundamental issue, voluntarism versus compulsion. Last June, in a special document, the committee issued a set of Voluntary Employment Principles stating that it was "opposed unequivocally to compulsory manpower service." The committee went on to say that "the

manpower job can be done through a voluntary manpower program."

This approach to manpower problems rejects the idea of those who argue for an elaborate government program, backed up with the necessary authority to assign workers to particular jobs. Those favoring compulsion envisage some type of national service legislation, which was successfully opposed by both labor and management during World War II.

Against this approach is the view held by both labor and management that no matter how serious the manpower problem may become, resort to compulsion will not bring the solution any nearer. However simple the application of compulsion may seem, in actual fact it arouses resentment, lowers productive efficiency and endangers the nation's basic civil liberties.

There is no need for any elaborate government manpower program. What is needed is additional time and effort spent on this problem by labor and management, whose actions, in the final analysis, determine the effectiveness of the nation's manpower resources.

The problem is not to find out how people can be directed to take proper action but to develop the proper interest and incentives so that these actions will be taken voluntarily.

It is with this point of view that this labor-management subcommittee approaches its task. If it can develop a set of recommendations which can gain wide acceptance among labor, management and government, this will go far to redress the nation's unfavorable balance of manpower with the Soviet Union.

## Our Foreign Policy

(Continued from Page 13)

have been perverted into despotism and betrayed into slavery.

Unless we and the free world in the years ahead make the cause of aspiring humanity our own, by bold and constructive programs of which Point Four is merely an example, the Communists, by fraud and deceit, could turn our own dynamic idea of freedom against us. We then will find not 800,000,000 people under Communist sway, but millions more.

We must also be on guard against still other maneuvers by the Com-

munist. I think we shall see them intensify their efforts to break up the unity of the free world which we have been so patiently forging. The Communists will seize every opportunity to sow suspicion and foment discord among the free nations, to magnify every disagreement into a major dispute and, particularly, to try to drive a wedge between the United States and other members of the free world community.

In all of this we and our friends abroad must recognize that, crucial

## **Fight Infantile Paralysis** **Join the March of Dimes**

as the American role is, we cannot do the job alone. Just as we have had to reexamine the traditional propositions of our society over these twenty years and adjust them to new realities to enable democratic values to survive and flourish, so others who cherish freedom must reexamine their traditional concepts and attitudes.

They must move with a new will to resolve ancient quarrels, suspicions and hostilities which have divided them internally and set them against their neighbors. And it is their job to deal with the Communist conspiracy within their own borders; to stamp out the sources of Communist contagion by means of vigorous eco-

nomie and social reform; and to continue to work to create conditions which will permit colonial peoples to advance, step by step, toward ultimate independence. The greatest contribution we can make is to take leadership in helping to shape a world environment favorable to the cause of freedom and human progress.

To do this we must keep our own domestic economy stable, dynamic and expanding, for the repercussions of prolonged recession here would have disastrous effects upon the economies of other countries and weaken their resistance to communism.

Beyond that, we must continue to cooperate with other free nations to build an expanding world economy and to strengthen and broaden the collective security system for the defense of the free world.

And in our own front yard we must strive to remedy defects and blem-

ishes in our national life, such as outcroppings of isolationism, bigotry and racial intolerance, attempts to suppress our fundamental democratic freedoms, and the whole catalog of views and prejudices which are so out of step with that free spirit of America that has enabled us to learn and accomplish so much during the past twenty years.

In a recent statement of American foreign policy, we described its goal as that of seeking "to build conditions of peace under which men can walk in dignity, work in concert and reach out—each in his own way—toward that moral and material advancement which freedom alone can bring."

Men have long dreamed of such a world, but we have sought during these last years consciously to translate that dream into the living reality of practical programs to achieve it.

## **Slavery Under Stalin**

*(Continued from Page 10)*

force in Estonia is composed of slave workers, of whom there are about 30,000.

The Free Journalists submitted a map showing the location of seventy-four forced labor camps in Poland. In fifty-six of the camps about which information had been secured, it was estimated that inmates total from 116,000 to 148,000. The camps are concentrated mainly in the Upper Silesian coal basin and around Warsaw. At Jaworzno, near Katowice, German Nazi murder camps, established by Adolf Hitler, are still in use by the Communists. They are being used for slave workers in the coal mines, salt mines and on dam construction. Escaped Poles said the food and organization of the camps are very similar to the original Nazi system.

Dr. Z. Stahl, of the Polish Association of Former Political Prisoners, testified on behalf of 18,000 former Polish prisoners in Stalin's Russia, many of whom were subsequently sent to slave labor camps in Poland. Dr. Stahl listed 226 camps in Poland, 151 for men, sixty-four for women and eleven for "special prisoners."

Jan Horak, of the Free Journalists, testified that there are at least 371 slave labor camps in Czechoslovakia,

containing 175,000 prisoners in August, 1951, and 265,000 in October, 1952. One of the main reasons for this increase, he said, is the Kremlin's demand for the uranium ore in Czechoslovakia's Jachymov uranium zone.

Bulgarian witnesses declared that there exist in that enslaved Russian

satellite at least fifty-six concentration camps containing a minimum of 30,000 forced laborers.

Although Albania is the smallest of Moscow's satellites, there are now between 20,000 and 25,000 prisoners in Albanian forced labor camps, the National Council for a Free Albania and the International Federation of Free Journalists charged. The annual mortality rate in the Albanian camps, witnesses testified at Geneva, is over 20 per cent.

## **Apprenticeship Challenged**

*(Continued from Page 14)*

themselves have completed an apprenticeship and have also taken active part in the training of apprentices in industry.

But the National Association of State Approving Agencies, in its so-called "standards," insists that such field technicians must be educators armed with B.A. degrees. This, of course, ignores the fact that apprenticeship is concerned with wages, hours of work, working conditions and long-standing and intricate industrial and economic practices and factors almost totally foreign to educators and educational practices.

Also, in complete defiance of terms of apprenticeship based on years of industrial experience, the Association would limit all such training to a maximum of two years. Many of the

trades mentioned in the Association's tentative guide list require four, five and even six years of training. Compare existing practices, based on years of experience, with these untried suggestions coming from groups seemingly created to take advantage of some federal funds, without concern for the welfare of the trainee.

It is not possible to train craftsmen in the all-around skills, processes and techniques generally identified as basic to such trades in less time than these long-established terms of apprenticeship. The shorter term results in only partial training, making GI trainees incapable of holding down journeyman jobs, thus perpetrating a cruel fraud on the veterans and on their prospective employers.

Veterans with such limited craft



training are eligible for employment only in fringe jobs and have no assurance of economic security. They are the victims of exploiters of cheap labor. They become an economic problem to the country and lose their usefulness as citizens.

In short, the "standards" proposed by the Association not only subvert established apprenticeship standards but weaken our industrial economy

and sabotage our national defense production effort, which continues in sore need of qualified journeymen craftsmen.

This is a warning to organized labor. Local unions should be alerted that this is a deliberate and malicious attempt to tear down the trades.

American Federation of Labor unions should take steps to call the danger of this move to the attention

of the chief executives of their various states. They should register vigorous protests with the Governors and join with management to make similar protests. They should advise Congress and the Veterans Administration of their objections to such practices.

This must be recognized as a danger not only to apprenticeship but to organized labor and sound industrial practices in general.

## Needed—More Labor Education

By EDWARD J. HILLOCK

ONE of the critical needs of labor unions today is for more and better labor education—education which is effective in advancing the aims of organized labor. But developing a program of labor education is by no means easy. At least three major obstacles make the job difficult.

In the first place, today there are many counter-attractions to labor education programs. And by "programs" we may not mean a formal classroom type of approach. Included in "education" work are a great variety of uses of communication, ranging all the way from a simple printed pamphlet to radio and television or motion picture programs. But practically any form of educational work requires some time of the member and some of his attention. And herein lies the difficulty. Too many members think that labor education is a frill or a luxury which is hardly necessary in the business of trade unionism.

Since educational work requires some time, it must compete against the many counter-attractions which are claiming the attention of the union member. Today, with union members earning good wages, they are able to afford radios, television sets and automobiles and are able to take advantage of the many forms of entertainment now available—amusements, sports, recreation, travel, etc.

All of this takes time, and the members of trade unions usually feel that it is more enjoyable to spend time in diversion and in recreational pursuits than in participating in any kind of labor education program.

A second obstacle to labor education is found in the state of mind of many members—a state of mind which says "this is not important." This state of mind, this indifference to the importance of unionism and what it stands for, is in most instances found among the younger union members. The reason is obvious. The younger men have come into a union already built and functioning successfully. There is little need to struggle or fight for economic gains. In fact, there are undoubtedly hundreds of thousands of union members today who have never walked a picket line and never participated in a strike.

A third obstacle may be found in the fact that society has become more complex and industry is more complex. Since this is true, much of the work has been broken down into its component parts. In many industries the worker is part of a big machine. He may not have an opportunity to see and understand the over-all process in which he participates. This contributes toward building up resistance to labor education.

But just as there are obstacles to labor education today, there are pressing needs. Many relationships are established in the trade union field which must be understood if we are to have harmonious relations. Union members must understand their relation to each other, the relation between locals and the international union, the relation between their union and others at all levels—local, state and international. An understanding of these relationships is important in order that all members recognize and share their appropriate

responsibility as good trade unionists.

The relationship to government is of increasing importance in these days of regulatory agencies and laws touching on and vitally affecting labor welfare. The relationship between labor and industry is of the utmost importance, for if this relationship is seriously impaired, we have difficulty in maintaining labor peace.

One of the most important elements in the entire field of labor education will be found in the need for a thorough understanding by the member of his union, its history and its achievements. Union members should realize that their good wages, decent working conditions and reasonable hours did not just happen—they were won and often at terrific cost.

The days of struggle may seem as if they are behind us all. But if we understand labor history, we know that in order to keep our economic gains we must battle constantly—not in the same way, perhaps, as our predecessors, but we must battle nevertheless. What we have slowly gained can be lost rapidly.

One of the great needs in the field of labor education is a thorough grounding in labor history and achievements. This means labor history in general, in order that we can all know how the great family of organized labor developed and grew. It also means the background of our own union—background at the local level as well as at the international level.

Labor education should have a high priority for all of us. A good program of labor education will make us all better union members.

# WHAT THEY SAY

**Dave Beck, president, International Brotherhood of Teamsters**—We are



interested in maintaining good relations with our employers with whom we have contracts and with the business community generally. In this connection we expect to convey to it and to the public generally the story of the tremendous wealth of purchasing power which organized labor possesses. We have been strong promoters of the union label in the past. We have endorsed and supported the union labels of all crafts and have been most conscientious in insisting that our members respect the labels of their sister unions. We feel, likewise, that our fellow union members in all other organizations should respect our union service shop card and label.

**Harry E. O'Reilly, director of organization, A. F. of L.**—At the very



heart of our labor movement is the vital work of organization. There is no substitute for organizing work. Labor's strength comes from organizing. We must always remember this basic fact. The basis for the effectiveness of labor is always organization. Only where organization has been accomplished can working people expect to move toward their goals. It takes strength to achieve progress. Organizing is a job which must be carried on all the time, day after day, week after week. It is a job which must never be considered as finished. Even when a union has been solidly organized, it must be remembered that considerable employee turnover is a normal condition in this country. Americans move around. As a result of this turnover, it is clear that labor always has the job of organizing those who come in to fill the vacancies and who have not

previously been members of a union. Another very important phase of organizational work is the job of making sure that those who are organized become thorough trade unionists. There is a world of difference between a wage-earner who pays his dues but lacks interest in trade unionism and the wage-earner who not merely belongs to the union but takes a keen interest in it and who fully understands and believes in the principles of the organized labor movement.

**Irving M. Ives, U.S. Senator from New York**—In looking back over a



long legislative career, the fact that gives me the greatest satisfaction is that my name has become identified with the first comprehensive enactment of an integrated program against racial and religious discrimination in employment—the Ives-Quinn bill which became the law of the state of New York on March 12, 1945. Through the Ives-Quinn Law my native state has led the way to new progress in the constant effort of the American conscience to widen the horizon of social justice. The Ives-Quinn Law was the first in human history to make the flat declaration that "the opportunity to obtain employment without discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin is hereby recognized as and declared to be a civil right." As proof of its inherent soundness and popular support, the fact is that the Ives-Quinn Law has worked well in practice and administration, and its constitutionality has never been challenged in the courts. It has become an accepted part of the civic and economic habit of the people of the state of New York. It has been the source of policies which are permeating both private and public employment throughout the state. It can truly be said that the Ives-Quinn Law was the first in this country to give forthright expression, implemented by an integrated program, to

the truth, inherent in the fundamental documents and compacts on which this nation is founded, that all people within the United States are equal in their rights as holders of title deeds to the extraordinary blessings and opportunities with which the Almighty has endowed our land.

**Estes Kefauver, U.S. Senator from Tennessee**—The



fight to hold the line against the enemies of freedom is the most important fight in the world today. The efforts of the representatives of American labor in Europe and Asia have been most valuable in combating the program of Communist Russia for the seizure of additional countries and the enslavement of their peoples. In my judgment, the wonderfully effective battle against the forces of Communist totalitarianism which the American labor movement has been carrying on in European and Asian countries is one of the finest contributions of a patriotic nature ever performed by any group of citizens in the history of our country. Our alert American labor movement has earned the thanks of our country for its magnificent fight, on its own initiative and at its own expense, against the despicable plotters in Europe and Asia—a fight which has already shown splendid results for the cause of freedom. I wish all Americans in all walks of life could learn of this most outstanding service which is being rendered by patriotic, alert labor today.

**Victor R. Ackers, secretary, Milwaukee Union Label Council**—Elec-



tions may come and elections may go, but the union label goes on forever. Yet many union members are failing to take advantage of the union label, their strongest weapon. The union label is the trademark of skilled A. F. of L. craftsmanship. It is the sign of quality in any product. Likewise, the union shop card and the union service button indicate dependability and excellence of service.

# Installation Meeting

**T**HE first meeting of the Junior Union after the beginning of the year was for the purpose of installing the new officers who had been elected at the previous meeting. The outgoing officers arrived early at the Union Hall to make the necessary arrangements for the installation.

"First of all, let's open the windows and let in some fresh air," said Howard.

"That's a very good idea," Lillian declared. "I guess the hall has been closed tight during the holidays."

The clear, cold air rushed into the chamber, and soon the hot, stuffy atmosphere was changed completely.

"Brr!" cried Susan, as a particularly cold gust of wind swept through. "Let's close up a little."

"And then let's get down to business," urged Olga. "Howard, could you give us an outline of our part in the ceremonies, please?"

The outgoing president of the Junior Union responded with:

"Sit down and let's talk it over. I've sort of planned the meeting this way. I'll call the members to order as usual and we'll go through the regular order of business with reports from you, Susan, as recording secretary and from you, Olga, as corresponding secretary. Then Henry will give the treasurer's report. Lillian, as vice-president in charge of programs, you give your report next."

"Howard, my report is a resumé of all the programs we've had during our administration," said Lillian. "It may overlap the secretary's report a little, but I've kept it short and it does highlight our most important meetings and accomplishments."

"After all our reports are in," Howard continued, "I'll call on the new officers to come forward and stand in front of the platform here. Then I'll read the oath of office to each one and as they respond we'll change places."

"You mean when you swear in

Bobbie Mallow as recording secretary, for instance, I'm to step down and she'll step up on the platform?" asked Susan.

"Yes. You'll have to whisper to her to step up, I suppose," said Howard. "Last of all, I'll swear in Larry Flynn as our new president and turn the gavel over to him. From then on the new officers conduct the meeting and we sit back, just plain members once again."

"Unless, of course, we're put on committees," said Henry.

"Oh, yes, that reminds me," explained Howard. "I want to thank all the committees for the work they've done all year, the standing ones as well as the special committees, and also make a few remarks about the wonderful cooperation we've all had from every member."

"You can do that in your opening remarks," suggested Lillian.

"Will Mr. Turnbull come this afternoon?" asked Susan, referring to their Central Labor Union adviser.

"Yes, he's coming and is going to bring Mr. Carlson with him. You know, Pete Carlson's uncle, who is our new adviser. They should be here any minute now."

"Mr. Turnbull has certainly been wonderful to us," said Susan.

"And Mrs. Turnbull has helped so much too," said Olga. "I've written a letter to both of them to thank them for working with us, as was suggested at the last executive board meeting."

Soon Mr. Turnbull and Mr. Carlson joined the group, and before long the hall was filled with enthusiastic Junior Unionists ready to start out on their new year of activities.

As the meeting opened no one noticed the five women who slipped through the back of the hall to the smaller room beyond. Mrs. Turnbull, Mrs. Carlson and three others from the women's auxiliary went about their tasks, quiet as mice, setting out the surprise for the youngsters. No

one in the meeting was aware of their presence at all.

The order of business proceeded as planned. As the new officers took their places on the rostrum and the five retiring officers sat down, there was a wave of spontaneous applause.

Mr. Turnbull asked the new president for permission to say a few words. He paid a fine tribute to the work of the Junior Unionists. He also told them he had enjoyed his share in their fun and endeavors. With a hint of regret that he was not going to be their adviser for the next year, he introduced the new adviser, Mr. Carlson, who was no stranger to most of the Junior Unionists.

Mr. Carlson was welcomed by Larry Flynn, the new president, and not until he had finished talking was there a sound from the back room, but as he finished everyone was startled by a loud gong. It took the youngsters only a minute to realize that refreshments were ready in the next room! The two men had been in on the preparation of the surprise, and Mr. Carlson had given his wife the signal to ring the gong as he concluded his remarks.

Fortunately, no one was killed in the rush to the refreshments, although a stampeding herd of cattle would not have made much more noise.

There were sandwiches, cookies and soft drinks for everyone, as well as a great basket of fruit. What a party it turned out to be!

"This is really a wonderful way to start out the new year," Howard said to Mr. Carlson.

"And to finish an old one," the new adviser answered. "I only hope our new officers and myself can turn in as good a term report as you and your officers did. Turnbull says there is no doubt that we'll move along at a great rate, too. He says there is no holding back a fine bunch of Junior Unionists, and I believe him. Here's to the New Year!"



# Be Well Informed



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